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The area of

Tongatabu, however, probably does not exceed 150 square miles, which on the basis of full-blooded Tongan population, in 1921, gives the average of 65 individuals to the square mile, a number probably sufficient for communication in the traditional way, if the bulk of the population fringed the ancient highway which ran from end to end of the island. It should be borne in mind that the ancient population lived largely on farms rather than in villages. Ancient burials are to-day found in the bush where farms once flourished.

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Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 297) mentions an assemblage at an entertainment on Tongatabu Island, concerning which "some of us computed, that, at this time, there were not less than ten or twelve thousand people, in our neighborhood; that is, within the compass of a quarter of a mile; drawn together, for the most part, by mere curiosity." Providing the total is not overestimated, this statement would seem at first glance to indicate a larger population for Tongatabu Island than that of the present day. But many people from neighboring islands of Tongatabu and from Haapai and Vavau were doubtless present. In reference to the population of the islands near Tongatabu in 1797 the following quotation from Wilson (65, p. 95) is pertinent: "Passing to the northward of Eoo-äije, we steered W.S.W. to the entrance, then W. by S. and W. up the harbour, followed by the above canoe and several others, which put off from the eastern part of the main island and the islets that lie scattered upon the reef."

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The statement of Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 246) that "at least three thousand people" assembled at the entertainments on Lifuka Island indicates a population in 1777 no greater than in 1909 when Lifuka and the neighboring islands Foa and Haano had a population of 3,565. With the rest of Haapai to draw upon as well, a crowd of three thousand people might be assembled readily enough. Cook's description of the island of Mango suggests that the population in 1777 did not much exceed the population of 42 individuals in 1906 and it is of interest to note that he found Uoleva Island, just south of Lifuka, as destitute of inhabitants as it is to-day.

The grouping of people in villages and the consequent desertion of farms as residences has taken place probably since 1773, when Cook (18, vol. 1, p. 213) described the country as follows:

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The produce and cultivation of this Isle [Eua] is the same as at Amsterdam [Tongatabu]; with this difference, that a part only of the former is cultivated, whereas the whole of the latter is. The lanes or roads necessary for travelling, are laid out in so judicious a manner, as to open a free and easy communication from one part of the island to the other. Here are no towns or villages; most of the houses are built in the plantations, with no other order than what convenience requires; they are neatly constructed, but do not exceed those in the other isles. The materials of which they are built, are the same; and some little variation in the disposition of the framing is all the difference in their construction. The floor is a little raised, and covered with thick strong mats; the same sort of matting serves to inclose them on

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the windward side, the other being open. They have little areas before the most of them, which are generally planted round with trees, or shrubs of ornament, whose fragrantcy perfumes the very air in which they breathe.

Again, in 1777, Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 314) describes Tongatabu, as he saw it on "an excursion into the country," in the following words:

We found by far the greatest part of the country cultivated, and planted with various sorts of productions; and most of these plantations were fenced around. Some spots, where plantations had been formerly, now produced nothing, lying fallow; and there were places that had never been touched, but lay in a state of nature; and, yet, even those were useful, in affording them timber, as they were generally covered with trees. We met with several large uninhabited houses, which, we were told, belonged to the king. There were many public and well-beaten roads, and abundance of foot-paths leading to every part of the island.

The nearest approach to a village, observed by Cook was the capital Mua (the modern villages of Lapaha and Tatakamotonga), where the principal chiefs of Tongatabu dwelt, especially when attending the court of the Tui Tonga.

A map of Tongatabu Island, published in 1810 by Vason (60), although doubtless inaccurate as to details, shows the great road traversing the length of Tongatabu and the numerous lanes separating the farms.

La Perouse (47, vol. 2, pp. 171, 172) describes the south coast of Tongatabu as follows:

As the wind was to the north, I steered towards the south coast of the island, which is very free from danger, and may be approached within three musket-shots. The sea broke furiously all along the coast; but the breakers were upon the shore; and beyond them we perceived the most luxuriant orchards. All the island appeared to be cultivated; the fields, which were beautifully green, were bordered with trees. . . . The huts of the islanders were not collected together in villages, but dispersed over the fields, like the farm-houses in our best cultivated plains.

In 1793 conditions seemed to be unchanged, for Labillardière (37, vol. 2, pp. 135, 136, 153) says:

In advancing to the westward, we went over a vast enclosure formed by palisades, the stakes of which, placed obliquely, were pretty close to each other, and in the middle of which grew the bread-fruit tree, the plantain-tree, the fan palm, *corypha umbraculifera*, &c. Farther on, we found, within a fence not near so extensive, a small hut, of a conical form, in which we learnt were deposited the remains of a chief lately dead; and we were also informed that it was forbidden to enter it.

We then walked, for near a quarter of an hour, along a narrow road lined with palisades on both sides: we followed it as far as a very large lawn, where King Toobou was shortly to make his appearance. . . .

We soon after entered the fields, where we saw each individual's ground divided into small plots, surrounded by palisades, and in a high state of cultivation.

The missionaries who took up their residence in 1797 speak of certain places as the residences of chiefs—for example, Haateiho and Mua (spelled

Ardeo and Mooa by Wilson). The map published by one of these missionaries (60) is innocent of villages. As to the cultivation of the country they say: "At Tongataboo the country is flat and enclosed, and, though little cultivated, very productive" (65, p. 385). 175
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By Mariner's time the complete breakdown of the central authority and the internecine wars had forced people to take refuge in fortresses (*kolo*) from time to time. This seems to be the origin of the modern Tongan villages, all of which to-day are designated by the word *kolo*, though none are fortified. The ruins of old fortifications are numerous. 712
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Although the necessity of living together for protection disappeared completely with the destruction of the fortress of Pea in 1852, villages nevertheless persist in Tonga and appear to have come to stay. Christianity and the copra trade are factors that contribute to the maintenance of village life. 361
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MODERN VILLAGE POPULATION

The large modern villages, such as Nukualofa-Maufanga on Tongatabu, Neiafu on Vavau, and Pangai-Hihifo on Lifuka Island, represent the acme of development in village growth and consequently the greatest departure from the rural distribution of population observed by Captain Cook. These large villages are composed of an assemblage of unrelated family groups. Thus, Hihifo, is said by one informant to comprise three groups of kindred headed by the chiefs and matapule Tuita, Pouangi, and Tea. In the smaller villages, however, it seems likely that the inhabitants are bound to one another by blood ties and that these little communities do not depart far from the grouping of people in ancient times. The tiny village of Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, is an example. The relationship of the 16 individuals of this hamlet in 1920 are given below. 162
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House 1

1. Kula, father of 5. A *touloa* (navigator or fisherman) and former mayor of Siesia. His wife was Finau of Folaha, Tongatabu, now dead. 361
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2. Fatai, son's son of 1, named after brother of 1. 592
3. Maria, wife of 2. A woman of Maufanga, Tongatabu; upon marriage came at once to Siesia to live. 602
4. Solomon Tanaki, son's son of 1 and brother of 2, unmarried, named after brother of 1, by midwife. Born at Siesia.

House 2

5. Taani, son of 1, and father of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, mayor of Siesia.
6. Mary Anna, wife of 5 and mother of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9.
7. Mili, daughter of 5 and 6, about 13 years old. Twin brother dead.
8. Latu, son of 5 and 6, about 16 years old. He and 13 call each other by brother terms. They are of course only cousins. 601
9. Mary, daughter of 5 and 6, about 9 years old.

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House 3

10. Kalo, daughter of 1 and sister of 5. Latu, 8, sleeps in Kalo's house.
11. Husband of 10, a Vavau man named Silas.
12. Kitchener, son of 10 and 11.
13. Fine, male maternal parallel cousin of 12, 19 years old. He calls 5 "tuasina"; 5 call him "ilamutu." He moved from house 4 to house 3 on the death of his mother. He calls 10 mother (see 14) and 12 "tehina" (younger male cousin).

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House 4

14. John Malafu, father of 13. His daughter in 1920 married and moved away, so he now lives alone. (See 13.) His wife was maternal parallel cousin of 10.

House 5

15. Louise, brother's daughter of 1. Is from Maufanga, Tongatabu; father's name was Solomon. Neither she nor 16 have land on Nukunukumotu.
16. Husband of 15, a Vavau man named Afu. The offspring of 15 and 16 live in Maufanga, Tongatabu.

The mayor of the little island of Fonoifua, Haapai, spoke of the islanders (about 40 in number) as belonging to the "family" Tave. Actually Tave is the name of the tract where the dwellings stand and the inhabitants constitute more than one family in the European sense, there being 11 households, 5 of which are perhaps unrelated to one another or to the other 6. The heads of houses in Fonoifua follow: (In this list the terms chief and matapule probably indicate approximate rank rather than titles.)

1. Simone Havili, the mayor and chief (because his father was from the family of chief Malupo of Uiha.
2. Mesui Taufu, commoner, maternal parallel cousin of 1.
3. David Tautuua, matapule, maternal parallel cousin of 1.
4. Asui Lotulelei, brother of 1.
5. Ueleni Taufu, commoner, maternal cousin of 1. (2, 3, and 5 are brothers, their father Tuulau from family of the chief Maafu of Vaini, Tongatabu, their mother a commoner).
6. William Foliaki, chief, related to chief Malupo of Uiha, sister's son of 1.
7. John Kaisala, matapule, unrelated to 1.
8. John Langi, matapule, unrelated to 1.
9. Benjamin Taufu, matapule, unrelated to 1.
10. Benjamin Tui Pulotu, matapule, paternal parallel cousin of 1.
11. Mauseini, a widow, of matapule rank, unrelated to 1.

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The modern village of Lotofoa, Foa Island, Haapai, is composed of people from four earlier settlements in the vicinity of Lotofoa: Failoto (just north of Lotofoa), Faletapu (just south of Lotofoa), Ano (just south of Faletapu), and Felele which centered at the *malu* in the present Lotofoa. The people derived from each of these four earlier hamlets are spoken of as comprising a *faahinga* or "family," although they are probably not families

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in a genealogical sense. The Ano people formerly had the Tui Haa Takalaua as overlord, the Faletapu people the Tui Kanokupolu. The Ano people were under the direct control of a matapule named Malaloi, who served the Tui Haa Takalaua and transmitted his orders. Failoto was under a chief named Lotaki. The Faletapu people had still earlier lived at the neighboring site of Pangai Foonu, but moved to Faletapu just after becoming Christians. The Lotofoa informants said that marriage within or without each of the four "families" was permitted, degree of relationship being alone the determining factor. 361
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The 85 adult male land holders of Lotofoa were distributed as: Men from Felelei, 14; men from Failoto, 9; men from Faletapu, 12; men from Ano, 13; men from other islands, 33 (one of these is from Faleloa, Foa Island); men of uncertain residence, 4. 162
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For the island of Fotuhaa, Haapai, I have data which will perhaps aid in forming some conception of the extent to which wives are obtained within the village. Mounगतonga, a man of chiefly rank, said that every native of the island belongs to one of two "families," actually two districts: Hahake (East), Mounगतonga's "family," and Hihifo (West), matapule Tuuhea's family. Of the 45 men holding tracts of land on Fotuhaa, 9 are unmarried. Of the remaining 36, 15 are Hihifo residents, 21 Hahake residents. Of the men from Hihifo 4 married Hihifo women, 4 married Hahake women, and 7 married women from other islands. Of the Hahake men 3 married Hahake women, 3 married Hihifo women, and 15 married women from other islands. 162
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These figures reveal no tendency of the inhabitants of Hahake and Hihifo to form two intermarrying moieties; nor the slightest indication that the Hahake and Hihifo inhabitants constitute two endogamous moieties. The figures do reveal a slightly greater preference for wives from islands other than the home island of Fotuhaa; of 36 wives, 14 were selected in Fotuhaa. The small size of the population no doubt forces marriages with other islanders in order not to marry within prohibited degrees of relationship. [616]

SEX AND AGE IN THE TONGAN POPULATION

In so far as statistics are available, the proportion of sexes in the Tongan population of the year 1921 is shown in Table 2. Whether or not the figures reflect the relative proportions of the sexes in ancient times it is impossible to say. It may be noted that except in Eua, males outnumber females. The table shows also the age relations of the Tongan population. 162

The accounts of early voyagers give no information as to proportions of the sexes or the age groups in the Tongan population. The equivalent of the "fighting men" of antiquity may be considered those males included under "People in Prime" and "Young People" in the 1921 population. Table 3 is arranged on this basis.

An example of what was probably an ancient lineage is represented by the place name Haaloau (Haa Loau). The Loau referred to was a prominent chief of the district of Haamea, Tongatabu, who is reported to have held land also on Lifuka Island where a district and a cemetery are called Haaloau. In the cemetery were buried people of high rank, related to Tui Haa Teiho. The paternal aunt of Tui Haa Teiho said that Loau was the Tui Haa Loau, or lord of the people of the lineage of Loau. Loau's daughter Nua became the mother of Tuitatui, the eleventh traditional Tui Tonga. Likewise, the twenty-ninth Tui Tonga, Uluakimata I, was reputed a descendant of the famous Loau. However, all the Tui Tonga after Tuitatui must have had Loau's blood in their veins, if tradition is correct; hence the special mention of Uluakimata I is not clear. It is possible a second and much later Loau is referred to.

The western portion (Kolomotua) of the modern capital Nukualofa is comprised of several tracts (*api*) which bear *haa* names. They are Haafa-kaafe, Haahio, Haaloto, Haamea, Haasimi, Haatelie, Haavaka, and Haavakaotua. The Prince Consort Tungi and his late father Tukuaho belonged to—that is, they resided in—Haavakaotua. Actually, of course, these two chiefs are members of the lineage Haa Takalaua. Yet it is modern Tongan practice to think of co-residence as constituting people into a social group. In fact several informants gave place names for family names.

My informants also spoke of certain modern villages as comprising certain named families, meaning actually that the villages comprised people from certain localities, brought together by the new system of village residence. It is likely that the people in each ancient locality did constitute a single family. But when the informants give the place name as the family name, the European type of family name must not be understood. It is not a surname and it changes with change of residence. For example, the mayor of Moungaone, Haapai, said that there were four families in his island: Haalolovi, Haanukuola, Haavaitongo, Haatolu. The mayor belonged to Haalolovi, the ancestor (*tefito*) of which was a man named Kavauhi who lived on a tract of that name. It happens that I have no record of these four *haa* names as place names, so it is possibly they represent a survival of the ancient small lineages which I have postulated.

Place names beginning with the stem *haa* form 7 per cent of the total number of place names in Tongatabu, 4 per cent of the total number in Haapai, 3 per cent in Vavau, 3 per cent in Niuafuou, and 3 per cent in Niuatoputapu.

Of the total number of place names beginning with the stem *haa*, those peculiar to each island group are recorded in Table 4, which shows that Vavau has much the smallest percentage. If these names really stand for

Tonga), attributes the coming of part of the second Falefa to Tuitatui's⁶⁴⁴ reign, about 1200. It is said that Tui Talau (Tui Motuliki) and his mata-¹⁷⁵pule arrived at that period from Fiji. When the Tui Tonga gave Tui Motu-⁶¹³liki his choice of residence, he selected Talau in Vavau, hence the title Tui Talau (50, pp. 140-142). If the attribution to Tuitatui's reign is true, it sets back the origin of the second Falefa about 250 years before the time given by Tungi. But this would correspond to the lapse of two or three centuries, in Havea's account, between the first and second Falefa.

After the disposition of the lineages of Matakehe, Tui Folaha, and Maliepo, described above, the second Falefa took the place of the first, with matapule who had come from Fiji, Samoa, and Rotuma.

The first lineage of the second Falefa was that of Tui Loloko, which was the only lineage carried over from the first Falefa. The same matapule also functioned, although for Malupo in this second Falefa a Fijian origin is asserted, he having come with Tui Motuliki (Tui Talau).

The second lineage was that of the Tui Talau, which came from Fiji.⁶⁴⁴ The matapule Faingaa, Hoakai (Soakai in Fijian), and Mapu were Fijians.¹⁷⁵ Faingaa's god was Kanahe. Hoakai's land allotment was at Felemea, Uiha⁶¹³ Island, Haapai. It was bestowed by the Tui Tonga. Hoakai was the mata-⁶⁴⁸pule who ate and smoked with the Tui Tonga; the privilege also being exer-⁶⁴³cised in recent years with the Tui Kanokupolu (15, p. 41). When the first Hoakai came from Fiji and, knowing no better, sat down to eat with the Tui Tonga Tuitatui, he was permitted because he was a foreigner and his descendants continued to hold that special privilege. If a Tongan⁶⁴³ ate the Tui Tonga's food, it was thought he would be afflicted with goiter²⁶⁴ (*fua*) which only the Tui Tonga could prevent by stroking. Hoakai⁶⁴⁴ analyzes as *hoa* (pair) and *kai* (to eat). What was left over after the Tui⁷⁵³ Tonga and Hoakai had finished eating was given to Uhatafe to eat. The⁷⁵⁵ descendants of the chief Maafu Tukuiaulahi, who was of Rotuman origin, were also privileged to eat the remains of the meals of the Tui Tonga.

McKern, who saw the present Hoakai, says that he was notably different⁶⁴⁴ in personal appearance from the prevailing Tongan types. His lower limbs¹⁴² were small at the knees and his ankles in proportion to their thickness elsewhere. His waist was small in proportion to the breadth of his hips. His skin was darker than that of the relatively dark skinned Tongan. His hair was decidedly curly.

Niutoua, Tongatabu, a town in the district called Hahake, Tongatabu,³⁴¹ where Tui Motuliki is reported to have landed, has a noticeably dark element¹⁶⁷ in its population. These dark skinned people were pointed out to McKern¹⁴⁴ by Tamale, of Niutoua, as the descendants of the Fijians whom Tui Motuliki brought with him to Tonga.

On the whole, judging from what was learned of Matauvave's duties, it would seem better to regard him as a sort of steward or director of works for the Tui Tonga rather than a true governor or viceroy.

THE LIFE OF THE TUI TONGA

The residence of the Tui Tonga was called, apparently metaphorically, Olotele—a name which occurs outside of Tonga (Olotele, a mountain in Tutuila, Samoa; Olokele, a mountain in Maui, Hawaii). The word Olotele embraces more than the house and house-mound of the Tui Tonga, for it was interpreted also as *malae* or green of the Tui Tonga. Various localities called Holeva are said to have been places where the Tui Tonga resided, the name being used like Pangai for the residence of the Tui Kanokupolu.

The earliest Tui Tonga had their capital in central Tongatabu, the tenth and eleventh Tui Tonga at Heketa in northeastern Tongatabu. With the twelfth king the capital was transferred to Lapaha on the eastern shore of the great lagoon of Tongatabu. Lapaha and the adjoining village of Tatakamotonga are spoken of as Mua (First) in reference to their constituting the capital. The actual place at Lapaha at which the Tui Tonga "reigned, *afiu*," or presided ceremonially, was called Ahofakasiu.

Portable houses (*falefata*) were erected for the Tui Tonga at places where he might wish to sojourn. These consisted of the various sections of such parts as the roof, sides, and posts, so prepared that they could be readily put together in a day. When the Tui Tonga's daughter became sick, she was moved into a new house, built specially for the emergency, and called, *faletolia* (*tolia*, satisfied in mind). Another name given to this house was *falevakaispuluhi* (*fale*, house; *vakai*, to take care, vigilant; *puluhi*, sickness, referring only to the Tui Tonga and his immediate blood kin).

The earliest Tongan mention of a Tui Tonga away from his home island of Tongatabu is that of Momo, the tenth ruler, whose visit to Eueiki Island, nearby, is described (26, pp. 71-75). Tuitatui, his son, is also pictured fraternizing with his boatmen off the shores of Eueiki. Later he dies on Eua Island (op. cit. pp. 45-47).

Talakaifaiki (Samoa Tala'aife'i) resided part of the time in Samoa where there were dwellings constructed for him on both Upolu and Savaii. He was the last Tui Tonga to reside in Samoa, for he and his officers and troops were expelled by the Samoans under Tuna and Fata. The Tui Tonga before him may have also resided in Samoa (36, vol. 1, p. 468).

Tatafueikimeimua made at least one visit to Samoa in seeking the hand of a beautiful woman (26, pp. 55-60). Kauulufonua I, the next king known to have travelled, is reputed to have waged war throughout the Tongan domains, in Samoa, Uvea, Futuna, and Fiji, and to have sent governors to various parts of the Tongan kingdom including Uvea. The Tui Tonga

stepped pyramids. Their exact details are accurately described by McKern (42). I give here a list of rulers and their traditional burial places, so far as known. It is Tongan custom to designate dead rulers by their tombs; thus, Tui Pulotu i Langi Tuofefafa is Tui Pulotu I, Tui Pulotu i Langi Tuoteau is Tui Pulotu II.

13. Tui Tonga Nui Tamatou, Langi Tamatou, between Makaunga and Hoi, Tongatabu Island. 643
29. Uluakimata I (Telea), Paepae o Telea, at Lapaha, Tongatabu Island. 764
32. Uluakimata II, Langi Tui Tonga at Lapaha. 349
33. Tui Pulotu I, Langi Tuofefafa, at Lapaha. 103
35. Tui Pulotu II, Langi Tuoteau, at Lapaha.
36. Pau died in Vavau (50, p. 252).
39. Lavilitonga, Langi Fovu, a concrete structure on top of the Langi Tuofefafa, at Lapaha.

According to a published Tongan account (33, vol. 7, pp. 81-83, 1909) the earliest royal tombs are those in central and southeastern Tongatabu. In the reign of Momo, or of his son Tuitatui, the capital was shifted to Heketa in northeastern Tongatabu and there two royal tombs were erected. Tuitatui's sons moved the capital to Lapaha, where most of the subsequent tombs were erected.

Certain of the larger stones in some of the royal tombs bear special names. Two stones in the Langi Tui Tonga, Lapaha, Tongatabu, are named for chiefs: Tuituiohu (son of the fourth Tui Kanokupolu) and Vaea (the eighth Tui Haa Takalaua). These named stones further indicate that the Tui Tonga buried in this royal tomb was Uluakimata II. The significance of the stones was not ascertained.

The children of kings who themselves never became rulers were at times placed in tombs which bore distinctive names. Probably this practice of special burial for such individuals was far commoner than the present-day evidence indicates. Examples of such burial are:

1. The son of a Tui Tonga by an Uvean woman is said to be the individual for whom the Langi Maluatonga, at Lapaha, was built. On account of the Uvean blood of the king's son, his tomb is not tapu and is regarded with scant respect. This is why even a commoner will say, "When I am hungry, I eat on Langi Maluatonga."

2. A mound in Nomuka village, Nomuka Island, Haapai, is said to be the tomb of a Tui Tonga's daughter named Ate. (Ate is also the name of the present Tui Haa Ngana's daughter.) The Tui Tonga in question having no wife, sent word that he wanted a woman from Haafeva, named Halakiumata, the daughter of Fauolo of Haafeva. Fauolo sent his daughter and she was married to the Tui Tonga and bore him a daughter named Ate. Ate was sent to Nomuka to look after the Tui Tonga's graveyard. She died at Ahau in Nomuka and was buried in the mound in the present town. The royal tomb she cared for was situated in the district now called Pangai on the far side of the lake (from the present town) and was called Langiatea.

3. Talahiva, the daughter of a Tui Tonga, is buried in the cemetery Tafengatota, near Neiafutahi (part of the town of Neiafu), Vavau Island.

* See page 72 for a different version, in which Ate is the wife.

Chief Ata listed for me the people of chiefly rank (not necessarily having titles) residing on his hereditary lands. He listed these Haa Ngata Motua people in six groups of descending rank as follows:

Group A

1. Shadrach Ahio

Group B

2. Solomon Ata (the informant)
3. Solomon Ahomee

Group C

4. John Latukefu

Group D

5. Israel Utoimoa (son of 1)
6. Malakai Sikotaipangai (son of 1)
7. Malakai Ahio (son of 1)
8. Dominica Tupou, a woman
9. Shadrach Taulango
10. William Teukava (father's brother of 2)
11. John Lamipeti
12. Israel Langi
13. David Finau
14. James Seluimatal
15. Poasi Pupua

Group E

16. Josiah Palumu

Group F

17. Daniel Palu. Placed in lowest group because father and grandfather married commoners.

Ata listed three other individuals of the chiefly class who reside on his lands but who are not Haa Ngata Motua people. They are John Momotu (from the Haa Havea), Pauline Manutuifanga (Ata's mother from Nuku-alofa, of Tongatabu-Niutatoputapu parentage), and Tupou Vavatau Ata, fourth or fifth wife of the preceding Ata (from the Tui Tonga's family).

Similar, but shorter, lists were obtained in other localities. At Felemea, Uiha Island, title bearers in descending order of rank are listed as: Chiefs Hoakai and Fakatouio; matapules Leleimoepo, Tukuafu, and Kepa. At Uiha village, Uiha Island, the similar graded list of title bearers runs as follows: Chiefs Malupo, Halatokoua, Fehiosi, and Tahilau; matapules Tafuna, Tea, Vaipuna, Vao, Tahimatakimoana, and Angakehe.

In ancient times the commoners (*tua*) lived on their respective tracts (*api*) and were thus scattered over the hereditary lands (*tofia*) of the various chiefs. Usually each *api* was inhabited by a man and his family. In olden days a commoner could not change from chief to chief, and a *tua* or matapule who deserted might be killed; but nowadays changes are possible though seldom made. A modern instance of desertion came to my notice. While a certain chief was in New Zealand, a matapule who lived on Atata left that island and attached himself to a chief at Mua, Tongatabu, thence

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going to Haapai. Later, returning to his old master, he was driven away. 565
Anciently he might have been executed. 361 686

The matapule usually dwelt close to the chiefs to whom they were attached, as did also certain *tua* who performed menial tasks, such as cooking. 565
Many establishments of chiefs constituted fair-sized settlements. 361 621

The rank of male tenants (heads of families) of *api* in several localities, 565
as recorded in 1920, is shown in Table 8. It will be noted that chiefs are 361
relatively most numerous in Lifuka and Tongatabu, the seats of govern- 554
ment. Though a different classification might be made by other informants, 592
the figures probably give a fair idea of the relative numbers of the three 162
classes among tenants, and of the local variation which prevails.

TABLE 8. RANK OF TENANTS AT VARIOUS LOCALITIES

	CHIEFS	MATAPULES	COMMONERS
Pangai, Lifuka	14	49	133
Hihifo, Lifuka	16	40	104
Holopeka, Lifuka	1	9	8
Koulo, Lifuka	2	18	30
Lifuka as a whole	33	116	275
Fangaleounga, Foa	0	1	3
Potua, Foa	1	2	22
Lotofoa, Foa	6	23	54
Faleloa, Foa	1	27	31
Foa as a whole	8	53	110
Fotuhaa Island	2	1	43
Uiha, Uiha (<i>tofo</i> of Malupo)	3	23	109
Kolovai, Tongatabu (<i>tofo</i> of Ata)	18	10	74
Atata Island (<i>tofo</i> of Ata)	1	1	8

In the former Tongan population there was evidently a still lower element than the commoners, the *popula* (slave, prisoner). Anciently these 567
people seem to have been largely war prisoners; one informant said they 727
were conquered chiefs and matapule who were enslaved. Through the efforts of the missionaries, this class distinction has been completely eliminated, but certainly some commoners to-day are the descendants of chiefs whose political stars fell. A term apparently synonymous in part with *popula* is *hopoats*. It is sometimes used to-day with the meaning of stranger; for example, shipwrecked people from Futuna are *hopoats*, but are treated as guests, not as slaves. 797 178 565

I doubt if matapule can appropriately be called a rank at all. It is 565
an office to which men are appointed from among the higher non-chiefly 554
families and the rank of a matapule would vary according to the rank of the chief by whom he was appointed and whom he served. Likewise, chieftainship is an office. A chief's relatives are not chiefs in the strict sense of the word, but naturally have a higher social standing than the relatives of

FISHING RIGHTS

The nearest approach to true communal rights lay in fishing grounds. 423
 The rights to fishing, whether close to shore or further out, belonged to 226
 those living on the adjacent coast. Most chiefs had land fronting on the 226
 water where their fishing operations were conducted. Every "commoner" [622]
 who lived on a tract bordered by water could fish along his waterfront. 565
 The inland man without a waterfront on which to fish usually had "tofia" [438]
 brothers" (men under the same chief) living on the shore who supplied fish
 in return for yams, fruit, taro, and other inland products.

Sometimes an inland man poached at his own risk on another's water- 423
 front. If apprehended, his traps might be destroyed and his fish con- 226
 fiscated. Sometimes, if fish were hard for inlanders to obtain, a large party 685
 would fish in force and depend upon their allied strength to protect them.
 But even then, the poaching would take place on the waterfrontage of the [622]
 poachers' own chief.

If, as sometimes happened, a man fished in a canoe before the lands of 423
 a chief other than his own, he would then present his first catch (a large 622
 number of fish) to the chief, who might then allow the man to continue 226
 fishing for the day. A story is told of an inland man who fished in a
 canoe before the *tofia* of the first Tungi. When he landed his canoe, Tungi
 himself confronted him, bit each fish on the back of the neck and said,
 "These fish are mine."

At variance with these assertions are the statements of Okoa informants 423
 that the people of their island might fish anywhere in Vavau, and that 226
 claim to a fishing place is established by setting up on the reef a stick with
 a leaf attached—such a statement probably pertains to modern conditions
 only. Another example of communism at Okoa, which is probably modern, 423
 is the use of a boat of one or two tons burden which belongs to the whole 226
 village. The boat may be used by individuals for fishing. If the catch is 501
 large it is shared with fellow villagers, and in any event the mayor is given 621
 part of the catch. 622

The stone dam (*paē*) built across a channel outlet to a pool on the reef, 423
 to trap the fish seeking the sea on the outgoing tide, was said to be the 226
 property of the family group occupying the adjoining tract.

COMMUNAL FENCES, CISTERNS, AND WELLS

Another example of communal effort, at least in modern Tonga, is the 423
 fence (*afonua*) which surrounds some villages to prevent the pigs straying 417
 into the neighboring plantations and uprooting the plants. Each taxpayer 361
 in a village has a certain length of fence to keep in repair. 731
 621

[Toku, Fonualei, and Kao Islands]

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soil. The population of Fonualei became so large and permanent that a church was erected there. The maximum figures for the two islands were one hundred souls on each in the time of the chief Abraham Tangaloa. However, the fertile land of Fonualei became a desert waste with the volcanic eruption of 1846. The people removed to Toku in time to avoid loss of life. Later the entire Toku population was moved to the Vavau group proper by the missionaries, for convenience in church attendance. Their descendants seem to reside principally at Utulei, Pangaimotu Island.

The Toku people were political exiles from Haamea in the central district of Tongatabu. The people of Haamea fought the Hihifo people during the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko and were overcome. They fled to Toku under the leadership of the Haamea chiefs Tukutukuholopangai, Ofakehokomaikaetau, and a third chief. Talafaiva, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua and (later?) wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I (Telea) was with them. The refugees were all of the Haa Takalaua and it seems likely that the struggle between Haamea and Hihifo was but a part of the Tui Kanokupolu's effort to eclipse the Tui Haa Takalaua. It is said that people from Makave in Vavau went to Toku to help the chiefs from Haamea. When the Haamea refugees arrived at Toku they found Niutopotapu people in possession. These were ordered to leave and did so peaceably. This settlement of people from Haamea must have occurred in the seventeenth century if the references to Mataeletuapiko and Talafaiva are correct.

The son of one of the refugee chiefs from Haamea became the ruler of the Toku people under the title of Tangaloa. The last Tangaloa was Abraham Tangaloa of Utulei, Pangaimotu Island. The Tui Kanokupolu appointed the Tangaloa. The second Tangaloa bore the personal name of Katainatoa.

The god of the Toku people was incarnate in the *tukuhali* or sea snake. I could not learn the name of the god or the title of the priest. incarnation of the god fell into a well. The well was in consequence filled and a new one dug for use.

Tradition names the top of Kao Island, Haapai, as the site of a village, a statement which is pure fiction, as I learned by climbing to the summit, 3380 feet above sea level. A woman there one day said she was going for a walk. She intended to visit one of the coral islands which seemed to lie so close below that one could step over to it. She threw down her bundle of mats, then followed it, and was dashed to pieces on the rocks below. This tale is evidently told to illustrate the extreme steepness of Kao.

The ancient settlement on Kao was near the shore, not at the summit. The shore settlement was probably on the northwestern side, nearest Tofua.

[Ata Island]

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bodies he returned to Nomuka, where he performed his inhuman orgies in a cave, which is said to be still full of the bones of his many victims. The peopling of the distant island, called Pylstaarts, about ninety miles to the south of Tongatabu, is attributed to this cause. In the depth of a dark and stormy night, Uhila effected a landing upon the island of Atata, one of the Tonga group. To escape his murderous attack, a party of the inhabitants hastily manned a *iamatefua*, or single-sailing canoe, which happened to be moored on the lee side of the island. Hoisting the sail, they bore away, intending to make for the adjacent coast of Tongatabu. This, however, they were unable to do, owing to the darkness and the increasing storm. They were carried they knew not whither. They seemed only to have escaped one kind of death to meet with another. But the wind and sea carried them straight upon *Ata*, the Pylstaarts Island of the charts, where the little company grew into a Tonguese colony, which has, in recent years, claimed kindred with Tonga, and has received, in return, the blessing of the Gospel.

What follows concerning *Ata* has been derived entirely from modern Tongans, mostly former inhabitants of that island now residing in Eua Island, and also from Leha, the carpenter for Pangia, the last Tui Tonga's descendant.

The Tongan name is really 'Ata, which means reflection. *Ata* is the title of a great chief, which means dawn. Another name is *Atā*, which is the name of the island close to Tongatabu. This name means more room, expanding, and evidently has reference to the mythical origin of this island, which is believed to have arisen spontaneously from the depths of the sea and to be the first island of the Tongan archipelago to appear above the face of the waters.

Ata is a very steep, volcanic island. The anchorage is on the west side of the island and from the beach a trail leads upward. There was but one town on *Ata* and it was called Kolomaile, literally Myrtle town. It was divided into three sections: Hihifo (the west end), Auloto, and Pea. Pea was apparently named after the village of Pea in Tongatabu. The reason for so believing will appear later when I recount the story of the visit from the god of Pea to *Ata*. The people of *Ata* did not live on their farms as did Tongans elsewhere but lived together in the town. Each of these three divisions of the town had a district of its own for farming. Whether or not each district was divided into individual family holdings could not be determined.

The traditional discovery of *Ata* is attributed to the diviner Hama named Motuapuaka, who eloped to *Ata* with the Tui Tonga's daughter named Tapuosi. Motuapuaka is said to have earlier sighted the island while fishing for bonito, so when he eloped with Tapuosi he headed for the island as a likely place of refuge from the wrath of the Tui Tonga. According to two informants from *Ata* there were already aborigines upon the island when Motuapuaka and Tapuosi arrived. The details of their adventures upon arriving at *Ata* were related by Tupouata, a descendant of the principal chief of the island, the Tui *Ata*. According to one informant there

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

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build a large and strong fortress, and to put themselves in a state of defence against any incursions that Finow might make upon them, or, rather, which Toobó Toa might urge him to make. 668
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The proposed fortress was to be the largest that ever was known in the Tonga islands, to be, in short, a fortified town, capable of holding all the inhabitants of Vavaoo (about 8000 in number), with their houses and burying-places, to be built round the Mooa*, and constructed, as usual, of reed fencings, much on the same plan as that of Niocalofa, formerly described, but to be surrounded by a deep and firm-set bank of solid clay, about twelve feet high, with a ditch on the inner side of it, from which the clay would be furnished, and thus be proof against the guns: within this ditch, and next the fencing, was to be another bank of clay, smaller than the other. The whole of the materials of the fencing was to be proportionably strong and good. 712
[162]

Among a great deal of information which the old mataboole communicated, was that respecting the bravado of a Vavaoo warrior, who declared his utter contempt of the guns. It is customary for every professed warrior, before 701
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[553]

* The chiefs' houses are generally situated together, and this place is called the Mooa, the metropolis of the island. [961]

669 Some time now elapsed in expectation of the
634 enemy's approach; but there were no signs of
361 them. Finow, in the mean while, came to a
determination of making Vavaoo his place of
constant residence. This he did for two rea-
sons, first, because it was the largest and most
fruitful of all his islands; and secondly, because
by his presence he could better govern a people
who appeared to be so little attached to his in-
terests. It was now the scarce time of the
669 year, and his stock of provisions began to grow
724 short: it was necessary therefore to dispatch
canoes to the Hapai islands for a fresh supply,
that might last them till the season had so far
advanced as to provide them with the vegetable
produce of the surrounding country. A large
canoe was therefore got ready, with orders to
return with yams and *ma*; she had an additional
number of hands on board, with which to man
another canoe that they were to bring back
with them, laden in like manner. Several
women and children also took this opportunity
of going to Hapai to see their friends. One
morning the canoe set sail for one of the Va-
vaoo islands, called Taoonga, with the intention
of remaining there during the night, and of de-
parting again very early the following morning,
to prosecute the voyage. Whilst here, how-
ever, the wind unfortunately changed, and they
were under the necessity of remaining at Ta-

565 freely associate with the chiefs to whom they
 571 belong; they are their necessary attendants at
 276 cava parties, &c. and form the bulk of their
 574 fighting men and followers: they not only asso-
 576 ciate freely with one another, but also with the
 followers of other high chiefs, and even with those
 high chiefs themselves, without any reserve,
 excepting the requisite ceremonies of respect
 which occasion may require.

565 Every high or governing chief has his *cow*
 621 *nofo* (those who settle or dwell with him), or,
 622 as they are sometimes called, *cow-mea* (adhe-
 624 rents), who consist of inferior chiefs and mata-
 [701] booles: each of these inferior chiefs has his
cow-tangata, or body of fighting men, consisting
 chiefly of mooas: the matabooles have no *cow-*
tangata. The retinue, or *cow-nofo*, of a great
 chief, therefore, consists of inferior chiefs (with
 their *cow-tangatas*) and matabooles; and the
 retinue or *cow-tangata* of an inferior chief con-
 sists of mooas, and perhaps, also, a few tooas,
 [361] who have been found brave fellows. A great
 number of these *cow-nofo*, perhaps about eighty
 or ninety, actually dwell in and near the su-
 perior chief's fencing (each fencing having many
 houses), whilst there are many others who sleep
 and pass a great portion of their time at their
 own plantations; for not only inferior chiefs,
 but also matabooles and mooas, have plantations

OF THE TONGA PEOPLE.

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of their own: the matabooles, however, except-
 ing, perhaps, two or three inspectors of the
 chief's plantations, dwell always in or near his
 fencing, as their presence is so often required
 by him for the regulation of different matters:
 with respect to the inferior chiefs, they gene-
 rally live at their plantations; but the greater
 part, or, at least, about half of the mooas, dwell
 in the neighbourhood of the great chief to
 whom they belong.

We shall now explain how these different
 individuals come to attach themselves to a par-
 ticular chief. We will suppose that the present
 king or any other great chief has a son six or
 seven years of age, his playmates are the sons
 of the inferior chiefs, matabooles, and mooas
 of his father's establishment, who freely asso-
 ciate with him, accompany him upon excursions,
 and imitate, in many respects, the habits of
 their parents: he does not, however, designedly
 play the chief, and conduct himself with arro-
 gance towards them; they know his superior
 rank without being reminded of it; and although
 they wrestle and box, and play all manner of
 games with him, they never fail before they eat
 to perform the ceremony of *mbe-mbe*, to take off
 the *taboo* which his superior rank has imposed
 upon his inferior associates: in some of his
 country excursions, he perhaps meets with

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REMARKS ON THE GAZETTEER

In compiling the list of Tongan place names, the following information, when available, is recorded: (1) the feature to which the name is applied; (2) the group of islands in which the feature occurs; (3) the island on which the place is located; (4) the village near which it is located; (5) the name of the landlord; (6) the meaning of the name; and (7) miscellaneous data.



FIGURE 1.—Outline map showing the villages of the Vavau group.

In the Gazetteer the largest number of names are of tracts (*api*) and village tracts (*apikolo*) and were obtained from the Tongan land office records. The tracts are the farm lands of the population, and each tract listed is today held by a Tongan tenant. Most of the tract names seem to be ancient. Not so the village tract names, many of which are of foreign countries; for village life in Tonga is only a century and a quarter old, the population formerly dwelling scattered over the land. Civil war,

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[127]
[423]
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[103]
[241]

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convenience in attending frequent church services, and the copra trade are probably the chief factors responsible for the growth of the villages and for the degeneration of agriculture. Today the Tongan resides in a village from which he makes the necessary excursions to his farm. Anciently he resided on the farm (*api*) and there were no villages. Needless to say, the extent of cultivated land is much diminished.

Too much faith should not be placed in the meanings of place names listed. The average Tongan appears to give no more thought to the meaning of his place names than we do. If asked what a name means, it is an even chance he will not know. The meanings of almost all place names in this paper were worked out by Tongan scholars, European and native. These meanings have all been studied by the author and modified where it seemed necessary. Nevertheless, some meanings are undoubtedly forced, and, what is more, it sometimes happens that a name is open to more than one interpretation.

Even with these short-comings in mind it is apparent that the meanings of names fall roughly into two great classes, descriptive and commemorative. The former refer to some feature of the locality, the latter to some event, usually trivial enough. There are also names of foreign places. Undoubtedly when comparison with other regions is made these will increase many fold. Apparently some names express in sarcasm or irony the injured feelings of the tenant of the tract, for it must be remembered that land is not owned by the rank and file of the population. It is leased from the government and from the nobility, there being in all some thirty such landlords. The rentals paid today in coin replace the ancient tribute of produce paid to the lords of the land.

The name of the landlord has been recorded for every tract; the absence of a personal name signifies that the government is the landlord.

So far as Tonga alone is concerned, the names of the landlords appear of slight significance in solving the problem of Tongan origins. Here and there a place name appears definitely associated with a landlord, as the place name Haatalafale with the landlord Tui Pelehiake. I believe, however, that the recording of the landlord names will prove exceedingly valuable when comparisons are made with other parts of Oceania.

In the gazetteer the several occurrences of a single name are listed from the Tongatabu group in the south to Niuafoou in the north. Roughly the order of listing the occurrences on several islands in a group, or near several villages on an island, is from south to north and from west to east. The reason for selecting the southern or Tongatabu group as the starting point is the fact that it seems always to have been the political and cultural center of the Tongan kingdom. The names of the five groups of

539 of the Tui Tonga) and the course for the game played by the Tui Tonga
173 with the *sikaulutoa* (a reed throwing-stick with a head of *toa*, or casuarina
368 wood).

539 The sons of Tuitatui were Talaatama and Talaihaapepe. When Tui-
173 tatui died, his son Talaatama succeeded him.

643 Then Talaatama spoke to his brother Talaihaapepe concerning the un-
desirability of Heketa as a place of residence. Said he: "Let us move and
leave this dwelling place, because of our love for our two vessels; lest here
they go aground and be broken to pieces, for this is a very bad anchorage."
His brother Talaihaapepe replied: "It is true, but where will we go?" And
Talaatama answered: "To Fangalongonoa (*fanga*, shore; *longonoa*, quiet),
lest our vessels get wrecked." That is the reason why they moved their
vessels to Fangalongonoa and made their dwelling near by. The place
where they dwelt was called Mua. They took their two vessels with them.
The name of one vessel was "Akiheuho," and the name of the other vessel
was "Tongafuesia."

539 That is the reason why Laufilitonga²⁹ dwells at Mua. It is the dwell-
173 ing place prepared by Talaatama and Talaihaapepe. It was they who first
643 moved from Hahake (referring to Heketa on the northeast coast of Tonga-
361 atabu) and it was they who prepared Mua. And all of the Tui Tonga
who have succeeded them have dwelt there, even unto Laufilitonga, the
present Tui Tonga.

539 When Talaatama died, he was succeeded by Tui Tonga Nui Tama Tou.
173 This was not a person, but a piece of *tou* (*Cordia aspera*) wood which Talai-
643 haapepe caused to be set up as Tui Tonga, for he did not himself wish to
become Tui Tonga immediately after his brother Talaatama. It being
Talaihaapepe's desire that a dummy Tui Tonga be enthroned, the piece of
tou wood was dressed in tapa and fine mats and duly appointed. A royal
wife (*mohefo*), too, was appointed for the Tama Tou. After it had been
three years Tui Tonga, the vault stones were cut for the tomb and the
Tama Tou was buried in the vault.³⁰ Then it was pretended that his wife
was pregnant, so that she might give birth to a Tui Tonga. The fictitious
child was none other than the wily Talaihaapepe, the brother of Talaatama,
who was then proclaimed Tui Tonga. A proclamation was made to the
people of the land that the Tui Tonga's wife (the *mohefo*) had given birth
to a son whose father was the recently deceased Tui Tonga Tama Tou.
The truth of the matter was that it was really Talaihaapepe, who was at
once proclaimed Tui Tonga.

²⁹ The last Tui Tonga, who was living when this account was first written, and who died on Dec. 9, 1863.

³⁰ William C. McKern, my colleague in Tonga, carefully examined the terraced stone tomb reputed to be that of the Tama Tou, but could find no trace of a vault.

539 He became weary and stopped at Motutapu, which was named Sacred
173 (tapu) Island (*motu*) on that account. When he had rested, he proceeded
644 on his voyage. Again he became weary and stopped at Moungetapu in
the bay of Mua, Tongatabu island. From this fact the island is called
Moungetapu (Sacred Mountain).

From Moungetapu it is not certain where Fasiapule took the body and
buried it. Some say it was taken to Haangongo at Malapo, some to the
royal tombs in Lapaha (*sic*).³⁷

TUITATUI, HIS SISTER, AND HIS SONS³⁸

539 There was a Tui Tonga named Tuitatui and he had a sister named
173 Latutama who was Tui Tonga also, that is, she was female Tui Tonga.
643 Tuitatui had a house with a loft at Heketa, which was the place of resi-
644 dence of the Tui Tonga before they moved to Lapaha (Mua).

One day the Tui Tonga's sister Latutama and her maidens visited
Tuitatui at his house. After conversing for some time, Tuitatui said: "Re-
main down here while I go up into the loft." Tuitatui had designs on his
sister, and he called down: "There are some boats arriving from either
Haapai or Vavau." Latutama controverted him, saying: "It is not true."
"I am telling the truth," Tuitatui asserted, "but climb up and see for your-
self. It is a large fleet, one boat, two boats, three boats, four, five, about
a hundred boats, I think."

Latutama then ascended and Tuitatui seized her. While the maidens
were waiting below, they noticed blood trickling down and they asked:
"What is that trickling down." Tuitatui answered from above: "It is from
a flying fox." To this day the place where this occurred is called Toipeka
(drop of blood of the flying fox).

539 It was Tuitatui who built the Haamonga-a-Maui (the famous trilithon)
173 and there are also a green (*malae*) and a *sika* course attributed to him.
643 At Heketa there were large houses belonging to Tuitatui, the lofts (*fata*)
of which were built of *fehi* wood and for that reason were called *fatafehi*.

539 The children of Tuitatui were Talaatama and Talaihaapepe. On the
173 death of Tuitatui, Talaatama became Tui Tonga. Talaatama conferred
643 with his younger brother and said: "Let us move our dwelling place from
644 here (Heketa) before some disaster overtakes our two boats. This spot
is bad, for it is rocky and rough." Talaihaapepe said: "Very well, but
whither shall we move?" Talaatama replied: "My idea is that we move to
the Fangalongonoa, before we lose our boats." This is how it came about

[361] ³⁷ According to tradition the royal tombs of Lapaha were not yet constructed. Heketa is
[764] probably meant, for in another account this is the reputed burial place of Tuitatui (p. 29).
³⁸ Recorded in Tongan by the Tamaha Amelia, May 27, 1844. Preserved in the genealogical
records of Her Majesty Queen Charlotte Tupou. Translated by Mrs. May Laurence.

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that they moved from Heketa to Fangalongonoa and lived there. They named the new place of residence Mua and they took their boats there. The name of one boat was "Akiheuho" and the name of the other was "Tongafuesia." Thus the living of the Tui Tonga at Mua began with the time of Talaatama and Talaihaapepe, the sons of Tuitatui.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME TUITATUI³⁰

There was a Tui Tonga named Tuitatui, who was so named because the kava maker of early days did not sit in the same fashion as nowadays, but sat in the center of the ring of chiefs. The chiefs were encircled by the people, which made the assassination of the Tui Tonga quite easy. But this Tui Tonga, when at a kava party and surrounded by the people, had a very long stick with which he used to beat the knees of anyone who came too close to him. This made them move away and keep at a distance from him, and they called him Tuitatui (*tui*, king; *ta*, to strike; *tui*, the knee) and since that time the kava circle has been arranged as he made it.

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[574]

TUITATUI AND THE MAIDEN³¹

Ko Tuitatui, koe Tui Tonga, nae eiki, pea ngeia, pea manavahe ai ae kakai oe otu fonua ni.

Ko Tuitatui, eni nae alu ene aalo ki Halakakala, pea akemai one iloi ae fefine oku hekeheka i he tualiku o Eueiki, kae fakataupe a hono vae ki tahi; o iloi ai e Tuitatui, moe ongo tangata. Koe iloi tokua e he tangata nae nofoa mua, pea ne pehe ange: "Ongo tamani, mo mate eku tupua." Pea na pehe mai: "Koeha?" Pea pehe e he tangata: "Ko eku tupua, koe kalia, oku langolango i he tuahilu o Haakame." Pea na matei ae tupua, pea ikai ke na ilo, pea toki tala e he tangata, one pehe: "Ko eku tupua eni; mo sio ange ae vaei fefine, koe ni oku fakataupe ki taki, ka oku hekeheka, i he vaafau, kae mama ae konga tahi, nae feounga mola." Pea nau sio kotoa ki ai, ka nae alo mui a Tuitatui, pea lea mai: "Ongo tama, tau ange mo kimoua, ke mo aalo vave, ke tau ilo ape, koe mama, pe koe tevolo."

Tuitatui, the Tui Tonga, was chief, and terrible, and feared by all the people of the groups of islands.

Tuitatui went in a canoe to Halakakala, and approaching the shore he saw a woman sitting on the weather shore of Eueiki, and dangling her legs into the sea; and Tuitatui and his two men saw her. She was seen first, it is said, by the man that sat in front, and he said: "You two lads, guess my riddle." And they said, "What is it?" And the man answered: "My riddle is this, the double-boat is raised on the weather shore of Haakame." And they tried to guess the riddle, but failed. Then the man told them: "This is my riddle; you see there the legs of a woman, that are hanging into the sea, but she is sitting, on the branch of the fau (hibiscus) tree, while there is a light on the sea, opposite her." And they all looked. But Tuitatui was paddling in the stern, and he spoke: "You two lads, it is with you, to paddle quickly, for us to discover if it is human, or a spirit."

³⁰ From the original Tongan of a manuscript in the possession of John Panuve Maatu. Translated by Alphonse J. Caffney.

³¹ From the original Tongan of a manuscript written by the late Elia Malupo, an attendant (matapule), made available through the courtesy of Her Majesty Charlotte Tupou the Queen of Tonga and His Highness William Tungi the Prince Consort. All of Malupo's tales were copied from an early account written by Romano Tongavaleale and corrected by the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker

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STICK AND KNIFE

A player held a stick in one hand and struck it with a knife, repeating ⁵³⁹
a rhyme. If he timed his strokes correctly he struck 15 times during the ⁵²⁴
recital of the words.

Toki mo toki fekau mai e motu'a toki
Ke ta e toki ta ke fiha, ta ke hongofulu
ma nima kauka.

Hatchet and hatchet send here e, an-
cient hatchet,
To strike e, then strike how many?
Strike to ten times and five, kauka.

From these words it would seem that, before the advent of steel knives, ^[412]
a stone hatchet was used in striking the stick.

POEMS RELATING TO PLACES

A very large class of poems celebrates the scenic beauties and interesting ⁵³⁹
localities of Tonga. Gifford who has published a number of such composi- ⁸²³
tions (21, pp. 5-19; 22, pp. 91-95), says, "the feeling for the beauties of ^[538]
nature is one of the marked cultural characteristics of the Tongan people."

Following are several more examples of this class of composition; but
it is a class to which additions are being made constantly. Although
special interest attaches to many of the pieces of the older bards, the native
muse is as vigorous as ever. Localities and events are being constantly
celebrated. Towards the end of 1911 I met a remarkable old blind bard in ⁵³⁹
the tiny island of Fonoifua, Haapai, whose population numbers only about ⁵³⁸
35 souls. He took his band of singers into the little native built church, ⁸²³
dimly lit by hurricane lanterns, and led them in the singing of his own ^[361]
compositions, pieces of haunting sweetness. Later in a dwelling, they sang ^[373]
a poem celebrating a concrete cistern that had been built on the top of the
little hill in the center of the island. This cistern doubly deserved the honor
of poetic celebration in that it was the first of its kind in that part of Tonga, ⁵³⁹
and boasted the added glory of a pipe which brought the water from the ³¹²
cistern to the village. I do not know the old blind bard's name, nor have
I any of his pieces, but would pay him this small tribute of recognition, ⁵³⁸
for his airs are among the sweetest that I heard in the islands.

THE ENVIRONS OF NUKUALOFA¹

Wind from the back of Koloa,^{*}
Beat upon the anchorage of canoes;
Come let us praise Nukualofa,
Let us go up at Tongataeapa,^{*}
And ask in the homes of the chiefs
Where perchance is Onemalama?^{*}
There stood a hala alone
On the mound Puamofefinea,

Near the pool Finenaakakala,
Where creeps the *ngingie* of the shore.^{*}
The wild duck cry
Put to flight by the noise of the kava.
Come, let us leave Veitata,^{*}
We shall go up at Tukungatokelau,^{*}
Faletuuloto and Vakabahau,
And the pool of the fish that was buried.

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539 7. The good will of her husband's sisters is of importance to a woman: for
773 example, one of the causes assigned for difficult labor is the ill will of the husband's
775 sisters.

8. The literal translation of *taahine* is girl, maiden. This is a respectful term,
used of chiefly women, irrespective of marriage or age. In the same way *tama*, *tamasii*
[607] (lad, boy) is applied to men who are chiefs.

845 9. This line is difficult. It is perhaps a proper name applied to the sleeping wife.
[192] Utukaunaga is evidently a place name and translated it indicates the place where the
man lies, and where his body, anointed with sweet oil, has been so foully used.

126 10. The expression is *te e tama*, was thus written by the writer, who took the
[192] story down. *Te* in this position is unknown to me; possibly it is *te*, the rare article.
It is provisionally translated "my."

539 11. Onemalama is the compound or area within which the compound of Lolo-
773 matokelau was situated. Haatafu, a wider name, is the village or area embracing
775 Onemalama and other places. This is a very common feature of present-day nomen-
361 clature but possibly it was not so common earlier. This story does not appear to be
recent and it is possible "in Haatafu" is added by the modern narrator to assist identi-
fication. It is said that the gathering of Tongans into comparatively large villages is
a recent innovation, originating perhaps in war, and encouraged by the needs of present-
day education and religion.

178 Pages 23-25. Sinilau and Hina, daughter of Puko

539 1. The expression "branching ivory" (*lei-mangamanga*) seems to be quite un-
773 known to present-day Tongans, but probably indicates the female pudenda. "*Lei man-*
192 *gamanga* is probably connected with the *rei* of Atu" (13, no. 3). Best (3) writes
of "the curious stone artifact of Atiu fashioned to resemble and represent the female
organ."

Pages 25-26. Hina, Sinilau, and the jealous demon wife

[843] 1. The idiom for a pregnant woman's longing for a special food is rather striking.
She is said to be pregnant, or to have conceived, to the food. In this instance: Hina
oku huiuia ki he atu.

2. *Ko Vaihi e*, literally, "That is Hawaii" (17, No. 358).

3. *Fatailangalanga*, climbing fatai (*Cassytha filiformis*?). *Fuhifamalama*, cluster
of gleaming hala.

539 4. *Kapala* is perhaps the island of Kambara, Fiji; but several places, not islands,
773 are also called *Kapala* (21).

[103] Pages 34-37. Hina and Nukuokakala

[197] 1. Doubtless the dialect of Niua Foa, as spoken today, has been modified by the
language of the main part of Tonga.

[193] 2. The steep rocky shores of Niua Foa afford little accommodation for boats.
The natives support themselves in swimming with a long, light pole under the arm.

3. Firing a gun, the modern narrator's version of what was presumably the beating
the drum.

[192] 4. *Mali*, that is, English "marry" (or French, *mari*), both used as noun, of either
husband or wife, and as a verb.

Pages 39-41. Kulakehahau and Tongamaulau

539 1. The heroine's name is spelled "Tonga-maulu'au," and "Tonga-mauluu." The
hero's name is spelled both "Kulakehahau" and "Kulakehahau."

2. The probable translation of *Keuiafanafana* is "Overcome by a whisper."

[192] 3. The respectful word for speech, *folofola*, is used properly enough by the
[195] maiden to her lover; *taataa*, an equally respectful term for blood seems less proper
when used by the girl of herself. No one, not even the greatest chief, uses respectful
terms of himself. Probably the exigencies of rhyme have forced the word upon the
narrator.

[192] 4. In my copy of text, *kaamorisa* stands *kanorisia*, a word which I do not know. I
conjecture that *kaamorisa*, meaning signed to, beckoned, persuaded, is correct.

5. This is either the name of the man's compound, or simply a common noun
meaning gathering place of companions.

539 8. Two copies of the text read *Pes mou o ne, o folau*; I know no meaning for
484 ne in this position, and a very intelligent Tongan emended it to *pe*.

505 9. It is not clear whether *pray (lotu)* is used in the Christian sense, or whether
897 some supplication to heathen deities is meant. Mamaeapoto lived into the Christian period.

10. Here is a sting. Ostensibly the meaning is that when affairs are all settled in the country and it is easy for all the leading men to go away on an excursion of pleasure, then "we shall go away with you on a trip." Secondly, there is the sense that "we shall pick nice calm weather for a chap like you, who is not much of a man." Mamaeapoto retorts that the day was a good sailing day, and secondarily, that there were not difficulties anywhere in the country that necessitated his staying.

11. Although these lines have been taken as the pretext and consolatory remarks made to Mamaeapoto when he was left behind, it is quite possible to understand them as perfectly sincere remarks addressed by Mamaeapoto to his companions in misfortune.

[539] 12. The word *fusi* (song, tune), stands in the margin of my copy of the poem in several places, apparently a direction for the performance of the piece. It stands opposite the lines which have *e* at the end. It is difficult to say what, precisely, is intended. Perhaps the bard recited the greater part of the poem, and a chorus joined in on the lines indicated.

13. *Fusi* is probably the name of a man; *Fusi-momoho* is the name of a boat.

[534] 14. Drums were carried on canoes, and beaten as they left, or drew near to, land, and also at other times to cheer and encourage the crews.

Pages 71-72. A poem of Falepapalangi

1. Two copies of the text have been used, and the text presented here is a little longer than either.

[361] 2. The "new boat" is a poem, or a festival, performed in Hahake, the great seat of chiefly residence. It seems that Falepapalangi was defeated, or criticised, by his rival; he replies that his composition, whose theme was the Pale, a headland in Vavau, was composed hurriedly, without much time for polishing, as the bard tossed it off in the fervor of inspiration, using the breeze of inspiration while it was blowing.

[196] 3. *Telas* is a little fish that springs along on the rocks, making its way back to the sea when disturbed. The *siale* is a weak and unaggressive shrub, whose blooms fade soon after they are picked. The tropic bird cannot rise when fallen.

[197] 4. "A strife of strong fish" is proverbial for a contest of those who are strong and well-matched (17, No. 211).

5. The eminence to which the rival has attained by his victory is likened to his going up and surveying the scene from the headland of Tave in Eua.

6. This reminder that modesty is becoming may be a literal statement that the rival is not skillful at sea, as well as the figurative assertion that in the craft of the bard he has not all the gifts.

[824] 8. *Uhiuhi* is the name of a plant.

[538] 9. A very bold and effective metaphor. "Possessed" is used in the sense of demonic possession, sick.

[108] 10. *Veuki* is the name of Falepapalangi's compound.

11. Literally, "Wearier, wearier out, of day and night." Instead of "contest," some word such as "song" might be supplied. It is possible that he refers to some scornful question in the rival's poem as to who this Falepapalangi is.

[145] 12. In Tongan speech, especially in ceremonial speech in the presence of chiefs, it is very common to guard oneself when about to mention something that perhaps it is not polite to speak about.

[524] 13. This metaphor relates to the game of *lofo*. The position supposed is that his opponent's last throw is in scoring position, nearest to the edge of the *lofo*, also near the mat. This is the poem which has been successful. Falepapalangi has a piece of his own standing just near this. Falepapalangi is now throwing his last piece, the present poem. He will not try the shot that drives straight through, knocking the opponent's scoring piece off the mat; that would disturb his own piece, but, by taking advantage of the raised edge, or cushion, of the mat, he will come around and knock his opponent's piece off and score with two pieces of his own.

539 Pulotu into three departments, is it not possible that Pulotutuumau, which the poet
76 regards as the destination of the Tui Tonga, may be a pleasanter place than Pulotuaka-
643 aka, to which Tukulua refers with evident repugnance. There is always the possibility
[775] of simply descriptive epithets being applied to the same Pulotu.

12. In *ori-hau*, attendants of the *hau* (king), it is interesting to have a clear
[775] example of the application of the word *hau* to the Tui Tonga. *Hau* indicates kingship,
[775] lordship actually manifest in power and rule, rather than chieftainship which is the
[775] prerogative of birth. In the later days of the Tui Tonga, when his power was
[775] becoming gradually overshadowed by the growing might of the Tui Kanokupolu, the
[775] word *hau* was more often used of the more powerful king, and on occasion even of
[775] other chiefs who happened for the time being to have won preeminence through military
[775] virtue.

13. As Vavau is the northern group of the Tongan islands, evidently the king's
539 road to Pulotu takes him in a generally northerly direction. It is possible, however,
76 that this is an echo of the Vavau that occurs so widely in Polynesian tradition as
643 one of the stopping places in the migrations. Since the attendants rejoice when Vavau
775 has sunk out of sight, it is to be presumed that they rejoice because they have entered
[829] on the last stage of the voyage to Pulotu. It is difficult to say whether the king is
[829] regarded as having already made the voyage to Pulotu, or as being about to make it.
[829] The only indication of time is given by *ka* in *ka malis*, which usually marks future, or
[829] indefinite time. I have not heard a period assigned as elapsing between death and the
[829] departure of the spirit; but the tapu on a house in which a death has occurred is
[829] removed by sprinkling water in it a few days after the death; bodies of great chiefs
[829] are kept unburied longer than those of common people; funerary tapu for some high
[829] chiefs were kept in force for as long as a year; occasionally bodies were kept unburied
[829] for months, even for years, apparently as a mark of special affection.

14. Following *ko he* in the manuscript is "etc." Apparently there were other
539 syllables in the refrain.

76 Pages 79-81. Koe Takipo o Nau

643 1. The opening lines refer to scenes pleasant in the life and friendship of Nau.
2. The *takafala* is a tree. The hard and Nau used to sit in its shade.

766 3. This reference is not very clear and many interpretations are grammatically
764 possible. *Tuoua* and *fihipalavau* are the names of two kinds of mats, but may be
539 the nicknames of two children who used to run in and out and ask to be taken to the
[829] sea to bathe. Or perhaps it is meant that Nau used to go in and out of the canoe
house. Possibly Nau is the subject and reference is made to two children who used
to ask to be taken to bathe. Or all the lines may refer to Nau, though why she
should desire to be carried to bathe is not very clear. Still there are stories of
chiefly girls who were not permitted to walk, and such stories must have some basis in
fact. The difficulty of interpretation is not lessened by the fact that instead of *fafa*
(both o's short), the word may be read with the last o long, as in fact it is marked
in the manuscript, and the meaning is then not "carry," but "grope, feel." When so
many interpretations are grammatically possible it is impossible to decide without some
information about Nau.

4. Koloa, an island and village of ancient fame. The Maui are said by a very
good informant to have belonged originally to Koloa, but the exact relations of the
names Vavau and Haafuluhao apparently are not very clear to modern Tongans.

76 Pages 81-82. Ulamoleka's poem on the death of Veainu

539 1. Makaunga is in Eua. Falepapalangi and Ulamoleka were together in Eua
when the news of Veainu's death reached them.

2. Two different types of waves.

[36] 3. Ohonua is the head village of Eua. A deep gully (the "vale" in the text)
[50] runs down beside the village, and opens into the sea, forming a little boat harbor.
Frequently boats are weather-bound here by the heavy sea running on the bar at the
harbor mouth.

[55] 4. The reference is to Veainu. Finemua is a name for Falepapalangi.

5. Hunga is two steep, lonely rocky islets about twenty miles north of Tongatabu.
Ulamoleka expresses distress and dismay at the death of Veainu, which was not
unexpected when Falepapalangi and Ulamoleka left Tongatabu for Eua.

- 599 8. The incident of the land-fishing of the Maui is introduced to lead up to the
584 work of Loau, and also as an instance of where even gods did not disdain work of just
the kind that Ulamoleka himself is doing.
- [776] 9. Loau (12, pp. 177, 178; 22, pp. 71-73) is remembered as the one who divided
the land among the various chiefs, and left ordinances about the kava, and kindred
matters.
10. Poukula is in Hihifo in Tongatabu. It is said that an axe was left there by
Captain Cook. To be like an old axe is proverbial for what is worn out and in-
efficient.
11. To be understood as relating literally to Ulamoleka's skill as a fisherman, and
figuratively, to his successes among the ladies.
- [502] 12. The Hifofua was the canoe of the Tui Kanokupolu. Her crew were all picked
[644] men; quite possibly chosen literally in the manner indicated, by skill and strength in
dart-throwing. Ulamoleka is the captain of this fine body of men—and yet this girl
has the assurance to regard him as too old for her. Again, later in the poem, is a
reference to another allegation against him, namely, that he was without accomplish-
[555] ments. A man to be a member of the King's crew must have had in no mean degree
[524] at least one valued accomplishment of athletic youth, namely, dart-throwing.
13. This address is made probably to the girl by Ulamoleka telling her to trust
for his merits to the favors he has received from women in many places. Places are
mentioned where he has had sweethearts, some of which at least are the abodes of
great chiefly families.
- [829] 14. The land side of the road and the lower (sea) side, are very important divi-
[565] sions in Tongan society. The land side is the Tui Tonga, his chiefs and people im-
[649] mediately connected with them; the lower side is all else (12, p. 177). Lapaha (com-
[361] pare Fijian Lambasa) is the village near to the compound of the Tui Tonga. Ohoma-
[644] fua is a site not now identifiable, presumably the site of a compound near Lapaha
[102] where the Tui Haatakalaua or the Tui Kanokupolu lived. Pangai, a widespread and
important name, was applied to residences of the Tui Kanokupolu. Gifford notes a
compound of this name which was a residence of the Tui Kanokupolu near Tatakamo-
tonga part, of the modern village of Mua, near Lapaha. Ahau (compare Samoan
Asau), also a widespread and important name, is apparently especially associated with
the Tui Kanokupolu. Gifford notes a compound of this name near Lapaha.
15. "As of a double mat was report" may refer to the preceding line, Pangai and
Ahau, seats of greatness, famous as a famous double mat, but it seems better to take
the line with the one following and refer it to the hapless maiden of Niua. Ulamoleka
"heard a great deal about her, but it turns out that there is no bulk in this great mat."
16. Matamoanauta and Faatalamatua are said to be in Hihifo, Tongatabu,
though Matamoanauta is noted by Gifford as near Hamula, which is at the other ex-
tremity of Tongatabu. The girl is recommended to go to these places with the man
whom she has preferred before Ulamoleka. He taunts this out-island girl, telling
her to go to places where there is really something worth while, and where she will
hear something about the man she has rejected.
17. Poulalahi; evidently a shrine, or sanctuary.
- [345] 18. The line of mounds; the pigeon-snaring mounds in Hihifo. Ulamoleka was
connected with the chiefs of Hihifo through his mother. On his father's side he
was a descendant of Tungi Manai, who belonged to the Tui Tonga families of eastern
Tongatabu.
- [484] 19. To be in Haapai but not in Tofua, the volcanic mountain island on the
western fringe of the Haapai group, is a proverbial expression for an untraveller, or
incompletely travelled man. The poem says the hundred hills of the crest of Tofua
could tell why Ulamoleka has not been seen more in the games and festiva's ashore;
he has not become better known because his life has been spent in voyaging to all
sorts of places.
20. One copy reads *S'i' anga 'oe 'au na luma* (dear manner of that reproach
of thine), which gives good sense. The other copy, which I have followed, reads *S'i'
anga 'oe aualuma*. The word *aualuma* is rare in Tongan and it probably is not Ton-
gan, and Pratt gives the meaning for Samoan, "a company of single ladies," which
fits the context admirably. Further, as a matter of criticism, the change from *aualuma*,
a word strange to the majority of Tongans, to 'au na luma, is more likely than that
the change was made in the opposite direction.

6. A number of localities bear the name Toka. If the island off Vavau is indicated, the wind would be from the north.
7. Fakanumuli is a tract near the sea front of Lifuka. Alaimuitoa lies to the west of Fakanamuli.
8. Velitoa is possibly the pool in which Finau bathed just before the assassination of Tupou Niua (Mariner, vol. 1, p. 129).
9. The meaning of *kuwi*, translated cloth, is really a measure of cloth.
10. Tongoleleka (Short mangrove) has become the proper name of a locality in Lifuka, occupied by a large village.
11. Tofua, the lofty volcanic island, and its still loftier neighbor Kao, are about 35 miles to the westward from Lifuka. The shore of Lifuka, about which the latter part of this poem centers gives a fine view of these two mountain islands. The setting sun throws about them wonderful and ever-changing beauties.
12. Tohonakao is the summit of Kao. It is not clear what is meant by "Tohonakao that is peopled." Tofua was inhabited until quite recent times, the people removing because the volcano erupted. People still have their gardens there, and visit them from neighboring islands. But there seems no record of Kao being peopled to its summit.

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Page 105. In praise of Vavau

1. Taunga; one of the islands of Vavau; Keila, a locality on Taunga.
2. Tapanu, Motuha, and Hunga are islands of Vavau.
3. Pautua is an unidentified locality in Vavau.
4. Vaihingano (Water of hingano flower) is evidently the name of a stream or pool in Vavau. Better known is the stream Vaisingano, near Apia, in Samoa, which is also the name of a Samoan chiefly house (26, vol. 1, pp. 76, 77).
5. Veafakanuia and Kavenga are unidentified localities in Vavau.
6. There is a *Faleula* in Samoa. This name has been explained by an excellent Tongan informant as equivalent to *falefale*, house of dancing.
7. Siaafafine (Mound of women) and Kavatakaua are two pigeon-snaring mounds near Feletoa.
8. The places mentioned in this line seem to be near Feletoa also.
9. The translation of this line is only a conjecture.
10. The localities named in this context are unidentified. Uluipuaka is also given as a correct reading for Tulunipuaka.
11. Toafaoava is an open tract near Haalaufulu (21).
12. The *ngahu* is a shrub that grows on the shore. High-water mark is called *mata-ngahu* (edge of the *ngahu*).
13. Anamamu is near Haalaufulu (21).
14. Kafoa is a hill in Vavau. The reference to the "jest of Tongatabu that has been carried too far" is not clear but evidently it is something that makes light of the claims of Kafoa. The jest may have been of the bard himself, as he is a Tongatabu man. One copy would be translated "Tongatabu hath appeared too much"; that is, has been made too much the theme of poetical compositions, overlooking the claims of places like Kafoa.
15. The word *kafongalu* means literally a wound of breakers, that is, of surf-riding; and so it is applied to a wound given or received in sport or jest.
16. The battle here is the give and take of repartee and joke. "It is fair, the falling in battle."
17. The house in Neiafu is a sanctuary. "If it leak" means if it be unable to afford effective shelter to suppliants because its god is not sufficiently powerful to withstand the gods of their enemies. Ngaakau is a locality in the village of Tefisi, belonging to the chief Luani. Clearly there was a sanctuary there, which is thought to have been associated with the chief Fakatanua.
18. Lahakau is felt in Tonga to be a borrowing from Fiji, where, however, the form Lasakau would be expected. It is said that the districts in Fiji subject to Bau were called Lahakau, and that the people tended gardens, and did other tasks of the kind, for Bau.

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Page 105. Weather coast of Vavau

1. This is, in part at least, a love poem. The theme of the lines beginning "The landsman made a complaining" is amorous and many of the localities mentioned have

- 539 associations with gallant adventures, or are suitable for lovers' walks. Such allusions are characteristic of Tongan poetry, which seldom deals in outspoken passion.
- 823 2. Falaovuna (Mat of Vuna) is a beach. Level stretches of sand or sward are not infrequently named *fala* (mat) of some notable personage of history or tradition.
- [103] 3. "Landsman," that is one unskilled in things of the sea; here, a man unskilled, unsuccessful, in love.
- 192 4. Two rods are placed out over the stern of the canoe in bonito fishing. The inference is that the gallant has won the favors of two ladies.
- 226 5. The line means "my ivory [hook] with a fringe or decoration of red-birds' feathers"; hence a hook that is valuable and attractive. A variant can be translated "feather of double bird."
- 192 6. The word *lofo* (thrown) is used of presenting mats.
- 192 7. The ill-fortune is that the poet has gone off the track and almost passed without mention a place that should be mentioned.
8. Kaunimasini; an overhanging rock.
9. Makao; a rock.
- [103] 10. Holoni is the name of some scattered bowlders at the foot of one of the Vavau cliffs. The phrase means an unsuccessful fishing day, an interpretation is that these rocks are washed by the sea, but do not take any fish; that man will endure being wetted by the sea because he gets fish, but a rock has no such compensation. Possibly the idea that this is not a good fishing place is included in the expression and also a reminiscence of an unsuccessful love affair of the bard's. Besides meaning washed by the sea, the phrase signifies boats getting together and sharing provisions. Crews will not eat while bonito or shark are in sight, so there is the possible interpretation of getting together to eat because there is no fishing worth troubling about.
11. Tave, a cliff.
12. Potuitoume, a rock standing in the sea.
- [192] 13. The *pipihelo* is a plant (*Hernandia moerenhoutiana*).

Page 106. Vavau

1. The poem celebrates the beauty of Vavau, a theme worthy of the muse. In form it is an imaginary excursion over headlands, hills, and beaches. Many of the places named are *matanga* (lookout places, eminences), many on the coast, whence a good view may be obtained.
- [103] 2. Kafoa and Aloitalau (or simply Talau) are hills.
3. Tuanuku, Teleki, Fau, Pau, and Utukalongalu are names of beaches. The following five lines contain names of *matanga*.
- [103] 4. Finemaukava is a *matanga*.
- [103] 5. Paleamote and Kalae are the names of two *api* (tracts of land, compounds). There is no one English word to render *api*. It is the nearest equivalent to "home."
- [36] 6. Fukotokanga, Fukomafa, Fakatoumamana, names of *api*.
- [103] 7. Two *matanga*.
8. Sisilouango and Tatauoaalo, names of *matanga*.
9. Vaimasiniake, a pool.
10. Potuitoume; a rock standing in the sea. The word means end or stump, of a torch. A goddess (Hina?) went fishing with a torch, and when she had finished she threw the end of it into the sea as she went ashore. This rock is the end of the torch.
- [776]

Pages 106-107. Weather coast of Selenga

1. This poem is in praise of a locality named Selenga, which is evidently on the weather coast of some part of Vavau. Not all of the names mentioned have been identified, but those that have are of places in Vavau.
2. The name Koate is unidentified. There is a Vavau chief of this name.
3. The line *Malama e taulaki penepena* interpreted means, "Gleam [the chiefs who have] dressed their heads with lime."
- [55] 4. Taiheunga (Smite the crab) and Mahinaea (Appearing moon) are the chiefs whose beauty fresh from bathing is spoken of. It is possible, however, that these are place names.
- [103] 5. I was unable to find the meaning of *tofalea*. (Compare the Samoan, *tofale*, to build houses.) Houses were built on mounds, *kolonga*, near the *sia*, to keep apparatus
- [342]

- 172 6. Fangavahe, a cave under the hill Hufangalupe, near Vaini, island of
764 Tongatabu, is reported to contain human bones.
7. Large cave in the shore cliff just west of Hooouma, island of Eua.

172 According to one story, the human bones found in the cave near Hooouma are
764 the remains of a party of war refugees who had been discovered in their hiding place.
173 Their enemies built a fire before the cave mouth and those within all died from suffo-
cation. This story is told of various caves scattered all over the Tongan group. It
seems to be a favorite means of accounting for the presence of bones in caves. A more
reliable informant stated that the cave was a burial place and that the bodies had
originally been placed in rows. The presence of an apparently artificial stratum of white
sand on the cave floor, under the bones, suggests burial.

LAPAHA, THE KING'S VILLAGE

172 The village of Mua, situated on the shore of a lagoon, about $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles
361 southeast of Nukualofa, was for many generations the seat of Tongan govern-
ment. As such, it was the center of Tongan life and culture, and remains the
richest spot in archaeological monuments in the entire archipelago.

172 Information regarding the ancient plan of the town was obtained from
124 old men and women who have long resided there, some of them the direct
descendants of individuals whose official business it was to keep track of just
such information. The ranking direct descendant of the last Tui Tonga was
one of the chief informants. Another source of information is the consider-
172 able mass of mythological material assembled by Gifford (13). Personal
127 observations produced the measurements and descriptions of the existing
126 remains of ancient structures.

172 Mua is divided into two districts (fig. 46). The northern half including
175 the area known as Maolunga is the ancient Lapaha, the southern half is the
361 comparatively recent addition called Tatakamotonga. Lapaha was divided
[643] between the Tui Tonga, the ruling dynasty for many generations, and the Tui
Haatakalaua, a chiefly family closely related to the Tui Tonga, who dominated
the political life of Tonga for a period preceding the rise of the Tui Kano-
kupu, the present dynasty.

Cook (4, vol. 1, pp. 282-283) contributes the following interesting descrip-
tion of Lapaha:

[342] The place we went to was a village, most delightfully situated on the bank of the
[351] inlet, where all, or most of the principal persons of the island reside; each having his
house in the midst of a small plantation, with lesser houses, and offices for servants.
These plantations are neatly fenced round; and, for the most part, have only one
entrance. This is by a door, fastened, on the inside, by a prop of wood; so that a person
has to knock before he can get admittance. Public roads, and narrow lanes, lie between
[363] each plantation; so that no one trespasseth upon another. Great part of some of these
[351] inclosures is laid out in grass-plots, and planted with such things as seem more for
ornament than use. . . . There are some large houses near the public roads, with spa-
cious smooth grass-plots before them, and inclosed. These, I was told, belonged to
the king; and, probably, they are the places where their public assemblies are held.

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The southern and most ancient part of Lapaha was largely monopolized by the Tui Tonga. The northern part, Maplunga, was the seat of government of the Tui Haatakalaua. Lapaha was faced on the northwest by the lagoon and surrounded on all other sides by a fortification consisting of a ditch and an earth wall surmounted by a stockade. The ditch is now largely filled in, but in places, where apparently it has not been disturbed, it is 10 feet deep and 20 feet wide at the top. The earth removed in digging the ditch forms a steeply walled bank bordering the village side of the ditch. The stockade fence was constructed of vertically erect posts placed together without interval and held together by means of poles placed horizontally and lashed with strips of fau bark. There were three, straight, level entrances to the fortified area, the names of which are not remembered. According to one informant, the Tui Tonga Takalaua either built or rebuilt these fortifications.

Entering ancient Lapaha through the southwestern gateway, the first structure encountered was the Olotele, a rectangular area enclosed by a reed fence taller than a man's head and entered by a gateway, in the center of which stood a post of volcanic rock, 3 feet high and 1 foot thick, called Tokomatupa, said to have been a gift to one of the Tongan rulers from Vuna, a chieftain of Houma. This area enclosed the house of the Tui Tonga, probably a dwelling of large size built on an earth mound. Surrounding the King's house (also called Olotele) were the smaller out-buildings occupied by the King's household servants.

All that now remains at the site of the Tui Tonga's house is a low oval mound of earth, 50 feet in length, the house-mound of the royal dwelling. The stone Tokomatupa, now generally known by the name of Levulevukefu, has been recently moved from its former position and now stands under a nearby tree. One house post from the old royal residence has been built into the house of Joeli Pangia, the living, ranking representative of the Tui Tonga family. It is a smoothly surfaced house post of *ngatae* wood (*Erythrina corallodendron*).

Opposite the entrance to Olotele and about 35 yards distant, stood the house of Kautai, the priest who ministered to the king's family god, Taufaitahi. This house is said to have had a name, which is now forgotten. The large oval mound, 40 feet in length, that now marks its site is called Paepae-kautai (*paepae*, house-mound; *o*, of; Kautai).

North of these two houses and immediately bordering them, was the great *malae* of the Tui Tonga—a flat, grassy, rectangular area where the king held ceremonies and entertainments. The *malae* was about 100 yards long and surrounded by large *ovava* trees. A very large tree of this species, under which the Tui Tonga sat during any function, was named Manau.

This area no longer exists as such. The main road through Mua passes

Plan of Lapaha. (See figure 46.)

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Lapaha proper:

- a, fortification wall.
- b, fortification moat.
- c, gateway.
- d, Olotele, enclosure and house of the Tui Tonga.
- e, Tokomatupa, stone post.
- f, house of Kautai.
- g, malae of the Tui Tonga.
- h, mound Takuilau.
- i, malae Fanakava.
- j, langis, royal tombs: 1, Tuoteau; 2, Tauatonga; 3, Katoa; 4, Tuofefafa; 5, Sinai; 6, Taetaea; 7, unnamed langi; 8, Tafaua; 9, Leka; 10, Tauhala; 11, Nukulau, a; 12, Nukulau, b; 13, unnamed langi; 14, unnamed langi; 15, Faapite; 16, Maluatonga; 17, Puipui; 18, Nakulukilangi; 19, Langalangafehi; 20, Paepaeotelea; 21, Namoala; 22, unnamed *faitoka*.

Moalunga:

- k, Fonuamotu, dwelling of the Tui Haatakalaua.
- l, Nukukaualala.
- m, Falesinifu of the Tui Haatakalaua.
- n, cohabital house.
- o, *faitoka* for wives of the Tui Haatakalaua.
- p, Falekili.
- q, well.
- r, Vakaniua, anchorage island.
- s, Tukumotofa, house of Lauaki.
- t, Malama, bathing place.
- u, house called Milo.

Loamanu, burial place of the Tui Haatakalaua: 1, Falepulemaalo; 2, Loamanu; 3, Faletuipapai; 4, cemetery of Luani; 5, stone wall; 6, house of Afu Haalaufuli, caretaker.

Tatakamotonga:

- v, house of the Tui Kanokupolu.
- w, Avau, house of priest.
- x, the house Matangipuomai.
- y, Falehau, king's guest house.
- z, the god-house Kikiloi.

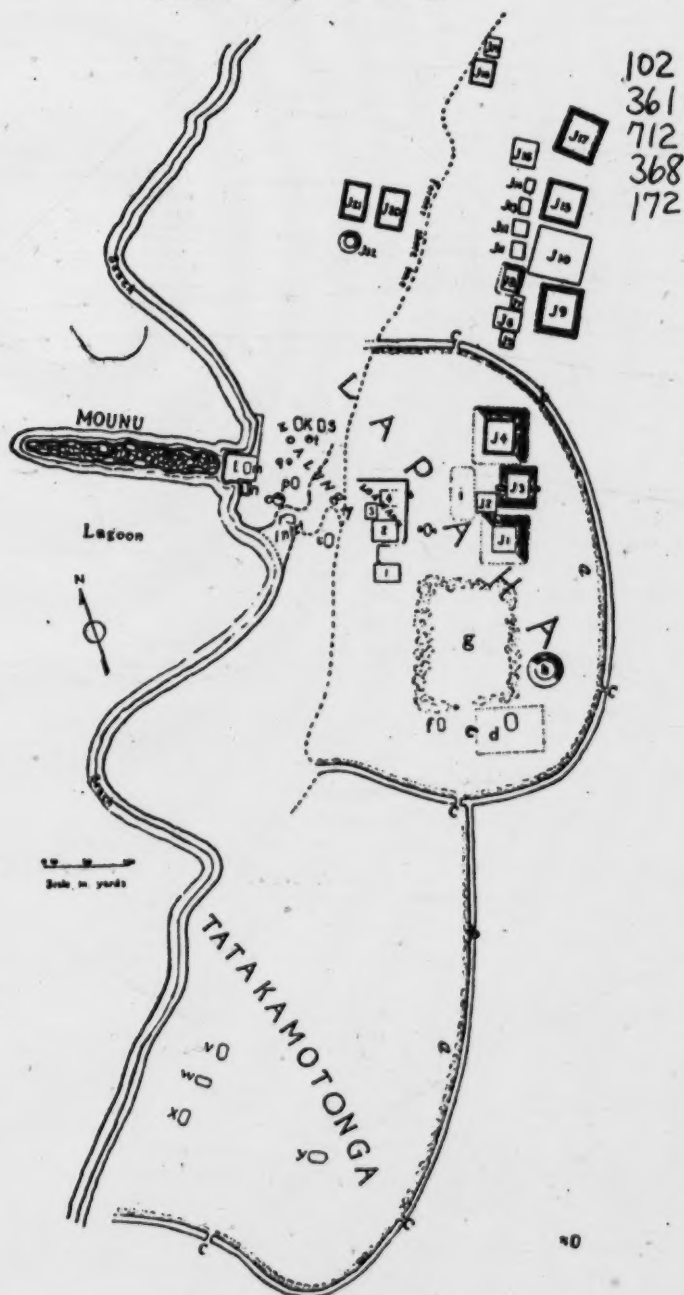


FIGURE 45.—Plan of Lapaha

172 through its center. The yard of the Catholic church occupies a part of its
 361 western half and other modern houses and fenced-in yards now cross its
 363 boundaries. A few *ovava* trees are still standing and the roots of the tree
 368 Manau are still to be seen.
 137

172 Southeast of the *malae* is the mound called Takuilau (*taku*, Fijian term
 34 meaning land at the back of a mountain; *i*, in; Lau, a group of islands in
 368 Fiji). This is a circular mound of sand, with irregular surface nearly 50
 643 yards in base diameter, where, some say, were buried all refuse materials
 intimately pertaining to the physical body of the Tui Tonga. Blood from
 wounds, hair, vomit or anything else that was considered to be a severed part
 of the kingly body was carefully preserved and buried in this sand pile. From
 another source comes the contradictory statement that Takuilau was the
 house-mound of the Tui Tonga Fefine, the oldest sister of the Tui Tonga.
 342 This mound, however, is entirely unlike any house-mound observed in Tonga.
 Not only is its shape different but Tongan house-mounds were not built of
 sand unless the foundation and the land immediately adjoining were also of
 sand. This mound, on the other hand, has much the appearance of a burial
 place.

172 Immediately north of the *malae* was a broad clearing, having much the
 361 appearance of a broad road. It appears to have had no name but is said to
 have been 15 to 20 "fathoms" (about 100 feet) in width and to have been
 lined by large *ovava* trees.

172 The northern part of the fortified area is occupied by four great stone
 368 langis of the Tui Tonga (pp. 39, 56, 58).

644 Just west of these tombs was an area called Fanakava. Its boundaries
 cannot now be determined, but it is said that one side touched the langis and
 that the other side merged into the great clearing. Fanakava was a rectangular
 and oblong area covered by a grassy turf. Some describe it as surrounded
 by a reed fence, others as without a fence. It was a *malae* of the Tui Tonga,
 where he occasionally presided over his kava circle. There was no house,
 priest, or guardian of this place, yet there was one peculiar, religious tradition
 696 associated therewith. Within its boundaries refugees from retribution were
 safe from attack (12).

172 There is every indication that the old road did not follow the course of
 363 the present highway through Mua. Rather, it avoided the fortified area,
 passing south and east of the embankment and extending east and northeast to
 parallel the eastern margin of the row of langis.

172 Outside the fortification, the langis continue as two parallel rows com-
 368 prising 13 structures. North of these two rows are two other langis. On
 764 the flat outside of the ancient shore line are two langis, 50 feet south of which
 is a large *faitoka* with the lids of two stone vaults exposed to view on its

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superior surface. All of these langis, 4 inside and 17 outside of the fortified area, are considered as being in Lapaha (pp. 36-61).

Maolunga includes the dwelling house, outbuildings and burial place of the Tui Haatakalaua family, said to have been first built and occupied by Moungamotua, the first Tui Haatakalaua, and the younger brother of Tonga Kaulufonuafeikai.

The dwelling house called Fonuamotu was a large thatched building the better class standing upon a low, earthen *paepae* about 50 yards from the present shore line.

Southwest of this house stood a mound called Nukukausia which formed the *paepae* of the house called Falesinifu (House-of-concubines) where the common wives of the chieftain dwelt. As it appears today this mound is essentially a rectangular platform of earth, 110 feet long, 75 to 91 feet wide, 3 feet high on its land side, and 8 feet above the bottom of the lagoon. More than half of the mound stands out from the shore upon subaqueous foundations. Its sides are faced with loosely piled coral stones, many of large size. Some of the slabs are dressed and others show a rude smoothing. The eastern wall of the mound is so sloping as to permit walking up the incline. The inclination of the other three walls is about 70°.

Immediately south of Nukukausia is a somewhat similar platform, 35 feet wide. On the lagoon side where the structure just overlaps the low-tide mark, its top is 3.5 feet above the lagoon bottom; on the land side the height is 2.3 feet. The vertical retaining walls are built partly of rough stones and partly of dressed slabs. In the seaward wall, close to the north-western corner of the platform, is a large, flat, circular stone, 1 foot thick and 10 feet in diameter, a natural coral growth known as brain-coral or mushroom-coral. The stone stands on edge 6.5 feet above the top of the platform. It is called Filimoimaka, the name of the chieftain who brought it from near Kolonga and presented it as a gift to the Tui Haatakalaua. Its purpose and use seem to have been purely ornamental. On this mound stood the house which served as the cohabital house of the chieftain and his common wives. No general name for this type of house, or specific name for this particular house, could be found.

From the western end of Nukukausia and extending out into the lagoon is an irregular pile of large, rough, coralline rocks about 25 feet in width and 500 to 600 feet in length, called Mounu. The formation is undoubtedly artificial. A common story accounts for this rocky isle as built up from the discarded oven-stones of the great sailing vessel *Lomipeau*, the boat that is reputed to have brought stone slabs from Wallis Island as material for one of the large langis. Another account explains this pile of stones as the beginning of a causeway that the Tui Tonga Pau started to build across the lagoon

The stone wall which partly surrounds Loamanu measures 235 feet along the eastern side and 181 feet along the northern. The wall, now in ruin, is 5 to 6 feet wide at the base and 4 to 6 feet high; originally all the wall was probably 6 feet high. This wall is composed of rough, medium-sized pieces of coral reef limestone, piled carefully with the flattest sides outward and parallel with the slope of the wall surface, about 75°. This surface, where it remains intact, is moderately smooth and uniform. At a distance of 35 feet from the western end of the wall two upright, squared pieces of coral limestone, 1.5 feet wide, 0.8 foot thick, with heights of 5 and 6 feet, respectively, stand in the wall, separated by an open space 2.5 feet wide. These rudely dressed posts appear to mark a narrow entrance. No account could be obtained regarding this wall. It appears to be a partially complete, or partially destroyed fence enclosing the cemetery.

Just outside the western limits of Loamanu, near the shore of the lagoon inlet, now represented by a *paepae* 35 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 1 foot thick, stood the house called Milo. There is some doubt about the intended purpose of this place. According to one report, Milo was the residence of one of the important matapules of the Tui Haatakalaua. The name and duties of this officer were not explained although one informant rather doubtfully thought that he took charge of the burial rites of deceased members of the chieftain's family. Another unsubstantiated report describes the place as the priest-house of the chieftain, but several informants insisted that the Tui Haatakalaua had no god other than the family god and priest of the Tui Tonga.

East of Loamanu stood a house said to have been the dwelling place of Afu Haalaufuli, a matapule of the Tui Haatakalaua and the caretaker of the cemetery Loamanu. A report, describing this as a god-house for one of the Tui Tonga's gods, was emphatically denied by Joeli Pangia and his oldest matapule. The house-mound is now obliterated.

Tatakamotonga, the home of the Tui Kanokupolu dynasty after its rise to political power, faces the lagoon and is surrounded on two sides by a trench and moat—an extension of the older fortifications.

The house of the king, or ranking member of the family, called, generally, *falehau* (*fale*, house; *hau*, a king of the Tui Kanokupolu dynasty), and specifically Langakali, originally stood in a fenced enclosure, of undetermined dimensions, which is said to have been rectangularly oblong in shape with a major axis extending northwest and southeast. This fence was called Lulukaho. The house-mound which remains is 40 feet long, 25 feet wide, and 1 foot high.

The priest's house, called Avaui, stood about 30 yards southwest from the king's house. All that remains of the structure is a house-mound about 35

172 feet in length by 20 feet in maximum width. The god of that place was
346 Taliaitupou, or Kalaiatupou.

172 About 50 yards southwest from this god-house once stood the structure
342 called Matangipuomai, the *falefakautangata*, or sleeping house of the oldest
644 son of the king, while unmarried, and of the selected group of young men
[362] comprising his princely suite. As the site is now occupied by a wooden
dwelling of European type, nothing could be determined regarding the size
or orientation of the original house.

The site of the *falefakaufefine*, the sleeping house of the oldest, unmarried daughter of the king and of her young maiden attendants, could not be located nor its name ascertained. It is thought to have stood north of the king's house.

The *falehau*, the guest house of the king, was the largest house in Mua, reputed to have been equipped with eight large houseposts. Nothing remains but the mound, of which the major axis, extending northwest and southeast, is 80 feet in length; the maximum width is 50 feet. Its specific name is said to have been Tatakamotonga. According to some reports, it occupied the center of a grassy area, a *malae*.

172 Outside the walls of Mua, east of the district called Tatakamotonga, there
361 was a large area called Ahau (literally, of king), which seems to have been
644 an outside addition to the lands of the reigning Tui Kanokupolu. The only place of chiefly importance located here, however, in so far as could be determined, was Kikiloi, a god-house of the Tui Tonga where the priest
172 Kautai is said to have officiated for the god Taufaitaha. Cultivation has
346 changed the house-mound to such an extent that it was impossible to determine its size and orientation.

172 With reference to the age of Lapaha, the feature shown on the map as
133 the former shore line is of special interest. A survey of this old shore
361 terrace leaves no possible doubt that it once constituted the margin of the lagoon. Its chief archaeological importance lies in the fact that the ends of the moat surrounding three sides of Lapaha, terminate abruptly at this line. This seems to indicate that this was the true shore line at the time the fortification was built. The people of the district say that the strip of low-lands between the former and present shore lines was artificially built by one
172 of the ancient Tui Tonga. The fabulous ship *Lomipeau* is said to be buried
173 somewhere under this fill. The undertaking of reclaiming land on such a
361 scale, without any apparent need for it, is too large to seem probable.

Dates depending on genealogies are bound to be inaccurate, but must serve where no other convincing data are obtainable. Allowing 30 years to a generation, Lapaha became the seat of the Tui Tonga about the last of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. The fortifications around

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

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Lapaha were built, or rebuilt, towards the end of the fourteenth century.¹⁷²
Maolunga was finished and occupied between the end of the fourteenth and¹⁷³
the beginning of the fifteenth century. The capital was transferred from³⁶¹
Mua to Nukualofa early in the nineteenth century. Thus, the town anciently
known as Lapaha, now called Mua, was the seat of government for about
600 years.

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AN AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE.

175 regularly espoused ; and at my request, Mulkaamair sent for her again.

797 My chief gave us a habitation near his own. Here I brought all I had, and gave her equal possessions with myself. We lived here together, for some time, in much comfort. I daily advanced in the knowledge of the language, and such prospects of success now opened upon me, that I determined to finish my days in Tongataboo.

Ambition of distinction and the desire of wealth now began to excite me to exertion. I employed my thoughts in devising plans to provide a comfortable settlement in the Island, and became very desirous of a portion of land to myself, that by my own industry, I might render myself independent.

175 At this time a neighbouring chief wished to dispose
425 of a tract of land ; my chief, Mulkaamair, purchased the estate for me, with a spade, an ax, a small
797 native canoe, and a couple of knives. This was
495 the whole price given for the purchase of the abbee, or farm of Omataanee. It contained about fifteen
175 acres, and was separated from the estate of Mulkaamair by a lagoon or arm of the sea, a quarter of a
797 mile across. This I crossed the next day, to enjoy the new delight, never before experienced, of
[36] viewing an estate of my own. With what joy did
[24] I contemplate its little pendent groves of cocoa and plantain trees, and its smooth lawns, diversified by
little habitations, which contained the peaceful

AN AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE.

189

natives; who now became my subjects and labourers to cultivate my fields for their own subsistence and mine. I visited them, and informed them I wished that they would remain with me: but they were timid, and appeared unwilling to stay, on account of the ill usage which other natives had met with from the Europeans, before mentioned, whom they served. I encouraged them by kind words and behaviour, and at length prevailed upon them to continue with me.

It may appear surprising that an estate so small as fifteen acres should contain the cottages of labourers: but it should be considered that Tongataboo was throughout cultivated like a garden, and that the cocoa-nut and plantain trees, upon a small extent of ground, were sufficient to support many inhabitants.

My little domain was bounded, on one side, by the channel, before mentioned, which was a quarter of a mile across, and separated it from Mooa, my former residence. I received supplies of provisions from Mulkapimair, and set about the cultivation of my little territory with all possible diligence: planted cocoa, and plantain trees with the assistance of my tenants; and hoped, ere long, to eat of the produce of my own industry.

Omataanee was not far from a fallow, or mansion of Dugonagaboola, the principal chief, at which he occasionally resided. Betwixt him and Mulkapimair, there always subsisted a jealousy, for

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
 009 Tonga 009
 Vavau
 Pangai

6 PANGAI: A VILLAGE IN TONGA

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 361
 133
 491
 103

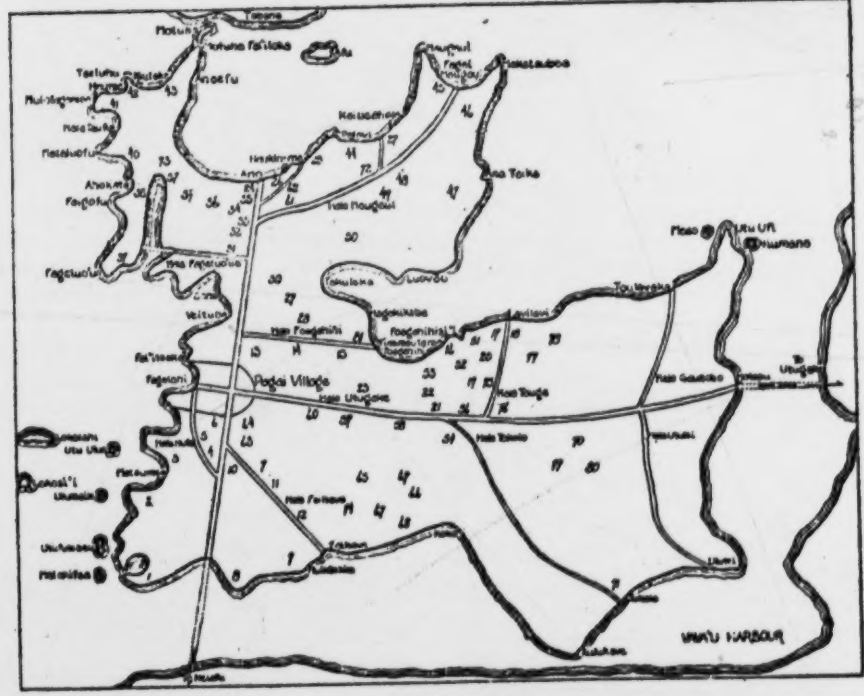


FIG. 1.
 Sketch map of the island of Pangaimotu showing the location of Pangai village (here spelt Pagai), principal roads (Aola) giving access to the plantations, together with main place names. Numbers indicate location of the plantations controlled by the villagers of Pangai.

THE VILLAGE OF PANGAI

LOCATION AND CLIMATE

OF the three island groups into which the modern Kingdom of Tonga is divided, that of Vava'u is northernmost. The position of its chief village, Neiafu, is 18° 39' south, and 173° 59' west. Three-fifths of the land area of this northern group is in the one island, 'Uta Vava'u. The remaining islands are separated from the mainland by narrow channels, some of them fordable at low tide. The island (see Fig. 1) on which Pangai village¹ is situated, Pangaimotu,² lies directly across Neiafu harbour. The nearest landing-place to the village may be reached by launch in a half hour. By land, it is about a two-hour walk from Neiafu to Pangai along an ill-kept bush track that is officially graced with the title of "road"; the distance is covered in half this time by horse. The ford between 'Uta Vava'u and the island of Pangai may be crossed by horse or on foot at low tide, by horse only—and then with considerable difficulty—at high tide.

¹ Pangai is a fairly common place name in Tonga. It means "meeting place" or "gathering place" and was formerly applied to the permanent or temporary residences of the Tui Kanokupolu or his agents. As noted below, the island of Pangaimotu is a royal estate. The Queen of Tonga is the present holder of the office of Tui Kanokupolu. We have no data however, as to the specific time or occasion in the past when the island and the village received their name, Pangai.

² Perhaps a note should be added at this point on orthography. The orthography to which the early Wesleyan and Roman Catholic missionaries reduced the Tongan language and which is in current usage at the present time, is most peculiar. It consists of five vowels and thirteen consonants. The vowels are the standard Polynesian vowel sounds. In the consonantal system however, both *b* and *p* are used for the intermediate Polynesian sound between *p* and *b*; *t* and *f* are also used as if for separate sounds, though referring to a dental *t* sound that is sometimes palatalized before certain vowels. The front palatal nasal *eng* sound is symbolized by *g*. The student has his choice between using an irrational but customary and specifically Tongan orthography on the one hand and, on the other hand, the more widely used standard Polynesian orthography. For the place-names and proper names on the two sketch-maps we have kept the

A. [See category 116, p. 6--Analyst]

133
 (131)
 (423)
 (643)
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 (162)
 (423)
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 (241)

The island of Pangai has a greatest height of 290 feet and a total area of 2,188 acres. All the island makes up one of the royal estates. There are two villages, Pangai and Utulei. In 1931 their populations were given as 250 and 104 respectively.⁴ The division of acreage between the two villages is roughly indicated on the island map (Fig. 1).^A

Because the principal economic activity of the villagers is gardening and cultivation of root crops mainly, a note may be added on soil and climate. The following information⁵ refers specifically to 'Uta Vava'u but there is no reason to think that it does not apply equally well to the island of Pangai. The islands are of a coral-formation on a volcanic base. The soil is rich and fertile. The climate is sub-tropical with a humidity in mid-summer that is severe and which has a year-round mean in Neiafu of 77 per cent. The rainfall is fairly heavy with a wet season from December to April and an occasional short but injurious drought between October and December. (Rainfall range in Neiafu, 68 to 103 inches, mean of 82 inches.) The soil of the island is very porous and water may be obtained easily by sinking a well. Today however, the villagers rely on concrete cisterns to obtain water for drinking and domestic purposes. The number and location of these cisterns in Pangai village is shown on the map (Fig. 2).^B The prevailing winds are the south-east trade-winds. During the rainy season, hurricanes are an ever-constant threat to the villagers. Only occasionally do these hurricanes occur with disastrous effect. Every year however, the possibility of hurricane means an ever-recurrent anxiety. A hurricane does great damage to the gardens and cultivations and generally means food-shortage for many months thereafter. Even strong winds of less than hurricane force may cause great damage if they

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 10]

(104) Tongan orthography. No confusion need arise: it should be obvious that the village of Pangai on the map is the same village referred to as Pangai in the text. It is hard to answer the very natural question as to why we use these two orthographies thus, instead of one only. Presumably we think the Polynesian system more correct than the Tongan system although we would feel guilty if we tampered with the standardized spelling of place-names on a map.

⁴ According to our household census, the population of Pangai in December, 1938, was 268 (see p. 69).

(113) ⁵ From Wood, A. H., *History and Geography of Tonga*, Auckland, 1938, pp. 85-86.

^A [See category 116, p. 6--Analyst]

^B [See category 116, p. 9--Analyst]

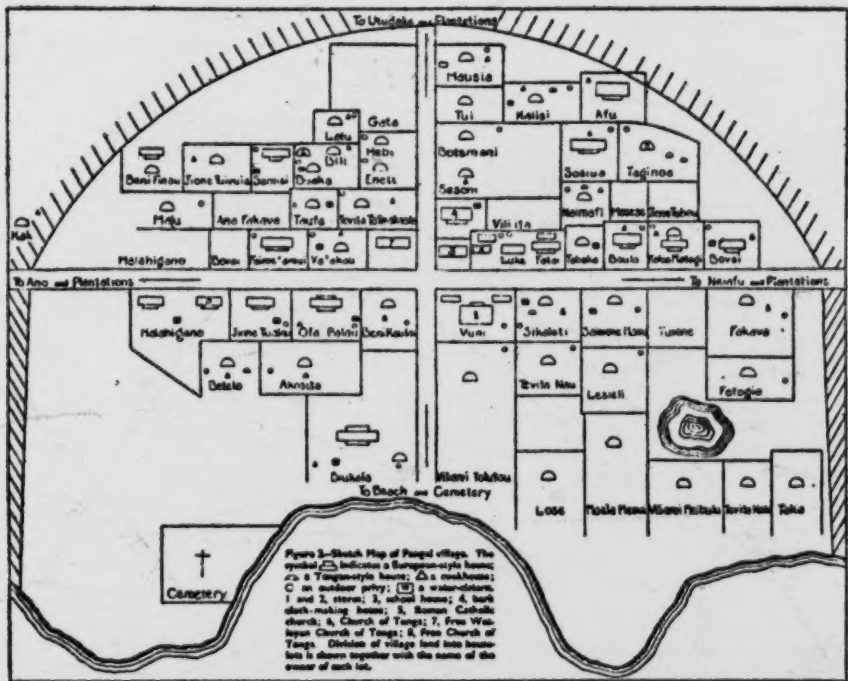


FIG. 2.

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blow at the time of, or immediately after, heavy rains when the ground is soft and consequently the roots of the trees have little grip in the muddy, yielding soil. 132
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THE VILLAGE

Pangai village is a relatively self-contained economic unit. The villagers look upon their village as their chief source of satisfaction for both work and play. There is, of course, continual coming and going between Pangai and other nearby villages. On the half dozen times each year when the banana and tourist boat calls at Neiafu (population in 1931, 1610 people), many Pangai people, men mostly, congregate in Neiafu to see the sights and to gossip with relatives and friends from other villages. Each year a few youths from the village go off to school in Nukualofa, capital and chief port of the Kingdom on distant Tongatapu, 170 miles to the south. They travel by small motor vessel or more hazardous cutter. Sometimes they return to Pangai for the annual vacation. Often they stay with relatives in Tongatapu until their schooling is finished. Adults rarely make the journey to Tongatapu. For the most part they stay in the village, relieving monotony by occasional visits to Neiafu. 621
(628)
574
628
(162)
871
484
(505)
484
574

The map of Pangai village (Fig. 2), sketches the lay-out of house-lots which together take up an area of about 20 acres. There are four church buildings. One of these is of European, church-like form; another is a small simple four-square board structure; the remaining two are Tongan-style architecture. The school-house is a small frame building, bare inside and out. The children sit on the floor. The community bark-cloth-making house stands next to the school-house. It is a larger frame building that stands empty and unused most of the year. The two stores are again small frame buildings with large copra-drying platforms and small copra storehouses alongside. 361
423
368

The style of house common in the village is also indicated on Figure 2. Of the 50 dwelling houses, 36 or 72 per cent. are Tongan style, 14 or 28 per cent. are European frame houses with iron roofs. Most of the Tongan style houses are built according to old-time native practice with coconut-sheet wall-screens and coconut mat thatching. A 366
417
343
342
(177)
(178)

PANGAI: A VILLAGE IN TONGA

11

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[198] few more of them retain Tongan shape but have frame walls and iron roofs. The old time Tongan house has the advantage of being cool and is fairly easily built. Frame houses are costly to build and hot to live in, but they have the advantage of being generally free from insects and will stand against all but the severest winds. Most of the villagers, if they were free to choose, would build for themselves a European style frame house. It is the ambition of most, indeed, to possess just such a house before they die.

[197]
[185] Practically all the dwelling-houses have an adjacent cook-house. A privy is also found on most household lots. These privies are of the type introduced by Dr. S. M. Lambert as a method of combating hookworm and other tropical diseases. For the whole village there are fourteen concrete cisterns collecting rainwater from the iron roofs of adjacent dwelling-houses to supply the village with water for drinking and domestic purposes. By amicable arrangement householders who do not have a cistern on their lot use the water from the cisterns of close relatives or friends. The cisterns are supposed to be kept covered as a health precaution. Most of them are open. As a consequence, typhoid is by no means an unknown disease.

361
342 There is one dwelling-house only outside the village limits. This is situated on the nearby plantation of its owner, a plantation which borders on the boundary of the village proper. This location of the dwelling-house may well represent a survival of old-time practice when the population lived in the plantations rather than grouped together in a village unit. This grouping of the Tongan commoners in villages has apparently taken place since 1773 and is probably due to a breakdown of central authority, consequent wars and fighting, together with the subsequent influence of the Christian missions and the traders.

361
491 The village is intersected by two main "roads" that lead to the beach, the plantations, to near-by villages. By "road" is meant a twenty-foot wide strip of land that is called a road, but is grass-grown for the most part with a narrow track down the middle wide enough for foot or horse travel. Round the village, these "roads" are thick in mud and hard to pass during the rainy season, even on

361 foot. During the dry season, they are quite adequate for
 491 foot or horse traffic. Each householder in the village and
 (653) each plantation-holder in the bush is responsible for keeping
 that part of the road which runs past his house or plantation
 487 free from high grass or obstructions. Numerous tracks
 361 intersect the village winding from house to house, defined
 according to amount of use.

THE PEOPLE

565 The people of Pangai village, as will be stressed through-
 621 out these notes, are commoners. Tongan society is today
 a stratified hierarchy with royalty and nobles at the top of the
 social scale, the common people at the bottom. In some
 villages, a high chief or noble^a has his permanent residence.
 In Pangai this is not the case. Pangai island is a royal
 estate. The only resident in the village who claims some
 (554) modicum of chiefly status is Koloamatangi, overseer of the
 (502) estate. He is not a noble but stands with certain limited
 authority at the head of the village both because of his
 position as overseer and because his position as pilot for the
 port of Vavau brings him sufficient pilot-fees each year to
 give him a more than average annual monetary income.
 For the rest, the villagers are just Tongans of the commoner
 class. Some may hint vaguely at distant relationships to
 some noble. In practice all disregard such hints. All think
 of themselves as commoners whose job in life is to work the
 land, to get what food and money is necessary, to obtain
 what pleasures life may have in store for them, to take what
 pains with as much fortitude as they can muster. The only
 significance of the following notes is that they attempt to
 explore some facets of this commoner life that are not yet
 adequately defined in published Tongan ethnologies.

CONTACT WITH WHITES

177 The attitude of the villager to non-Tongans is difficult
 609 to characterize. Excluding a few half-castes and other
 Pacific islanders, the non-Tongans with whom the villager

565 ^a Within the chiefly class, the present-day Tongan social system
 423 distinguishes between nobles and chiefs. Nobles are those chiefs
 622 who retain by royal grant their hereditary lands (*tofia*). Chiefs are
 those other members of this class who have not retained any hereditary
 lands or estates but yet are chiefs because of their hereditarily-
 established status.

PANGAI: A VILLAGE IN TONGA

The village overseer, the
 434 school-teacher, the pastor, and a man like Biukala who
 556 controls three *api*, all find that they are respected for the fact
 574 that their additional wealth makes it possible for them to
 expend more in the giving of feasts. Power, that is, that
 comes from relatively great wealth is used mainly to increase
 the size and frequency of one's feasts. To these feasts most
 574 of the household heads of the village are invited. Or if
 621 they are not invited, then part of the food on display trickles
 592 back to their household through gifts to close relatives.
 571 Thus, many in the village share in a large feast even though
 431 a relatively few only may actually be present at the eating
 of the food displayed. There are always obligations to be
 paid off to this household or that. Food given as a gift from
 one feast may actually change hands several times before it
 is all finally consumed: each household having a part in this
 chain of exchange will take part of the food-gift and then
 pass the rest on to another household to whom it has an
 outstanding obligation. Probably no single factor will
 434 produce greater changes in village life than the accumula-
 556 tion of money for power, rather, than as at present, the use
 178 of money to gain prestige through feasts. But this change
 is not yet significant in village life.

CHANGES IN CRAFT-ACTIVITIES

178 In considering the various aspects of craft-activities
 and the place they occupy today in village economic life, one
 sees evident signs of change which suggest something of a
 decay in craft-techniques. In fishing-activities for instance,
 178 few men bother with net- or line-fishing. Fish of any sort
 226 are fairly rare in the daily diet. Not that the villagers have
 262 lost a taste for fish. Whenever an occasional successful
 fisherman blew a whistle in the village to announce that he
 [202] had fish to sell, those who had money to spare would rush to
 buy. On these occasions we could give no more acceptable
 [431] gift to neighbouring friendly families than a block of fresh
 fish. The fact that fish is a delicacy today goes along with
 this lack of interest in fishing. This indifference to the sea,
 181 noticeably strange in the descendants of a great sea-going
 823 people such as the Tongans formerly were, comes out also
 868 in other ways. Thus, Pangai is situated on a rise within
 [361] one hundred yards or so of a beach. Two or three other

798 geysers as each heavy sea forced the water into the cave-
 167 like tunnels in the reef; between the main island and
 [133] picturesque Eua; through an intricate channel among the
 reef islets, until some houses showed white against the
 thick mass of palms. This was Nukualofa. In the sun-

[361]

*Nukualofa.*

light every colour was intense
 —the blue of the sea, the white
 of the foam and coral-sand,
 and the green of the
 vegetation.

From the moment

[152] when the first land was sighted the exiles began to show
 signs of anxiety, which increased with every throb of
 the propeller. They got out mats from their bundles,
 798 presumably in order to land neatly dressed; but, to our
 167 surprise, we saw that the outer mat petticoats they
 292 were putting on were impossibly dirty and ragged. Not
 576 ragged enough, however, to satisfy their critical taste,
 for as we neared the shore they began nervously to
 tear and unravel the edges of these filthy garments,
 stopping at times to inspect their progress towards
 disreputability. We had yet to learn that a Tongan
 expresses humility, repentance, and respect for dignities
 by the raggedness of his attire. The High Commis-
 sioner's advice regarding their demeanour on arrival had
 not been lost upon them.

798 We were boarded by the Collector of Customs and the
 167 Vice-Consul, and while we were still talking to them, two
 797

IV.

HOW I FARED AT COURT.

645 At length, on August 27, Fatafehi's schooner the Malokula
505 was declared ready for sea, and I embarked with Tukuaho,
(552) Fatafehi, and Chief Clerk Mataka. The vessel was un-
pleasantly crowded with old women, whose prostrate
bodies made the traverse of the deck at night impossible.
At sunset we passed Malinoa, where lay the four men
who were shot after the attempt on Mr Baker's life.
Thence, clear of reefs, we stood on with a fair wind
through the night until we could see the glare of the
volcano of Tofua, then in eruption. After a fruitless
attempt to capture a pig at Haafeva, which wasted a
precious hour, we dropped anchor at Lifuka at nearly
133 noon. We were on the lee side of a low narrow island,
nowhere more than thirty feet above high-water mark, but
covered with grass and cocoa-nuts to the water's edge.
Other islands of the same kind stretched away to the
north and south of us. The town was a mere row of iron-
361 roofed stores on the beach: behind them could be seen
347 the usual native huts dotted about among the trees, with
351 grass growing right up to the doors, and horses tethered
here and there between them.

294 A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA.

173 Uvea,¹ from Futuna,² and even from Haamoa³ and the far
175 islands to the North.⁴ No man knows whence he derived
643 his power, unless indeed he was a descendant of the gods
[648] themselves, of Tangaloa, of Ikuleo, and of Mau'i, but this
[651] is hidden in the clouds of the ages. The people of
[776] Tonga were so thick in the land that the commands of
[203] the king were carried from one end of the land to the
other, the people lying on their mats and shouting the
message one to the other. It was the time of "*Fanogonogo*
[203] *Tokoto*" (making proclamation when reclining).⁵ And
173 seeing that all men were his slaves, and that the world
175 held none that did not do him homage, the Tui Tonga put
643 heavy burdens upon the people, and made them drag great
466 stones and set them up for a memorial of his greatness;
349 and the people neglected their yam plantations to do the
tasks set them by their king, so that there was a great
scarcity. And when they hungered they began to cry
out against their king, for men are ever hard to govern
when their bellies are empty.

173 Now there came a Tui Tonga, named Takalaua, who
175 was strong and harsh, and was greatly feared of the
643 people. Every day he sent out his fishermen from Mua
[224] into the bay, and they would land on the islands to
arrange their nets. One day they landed on Ata, near
Euaiki, and when they sailed the two old people who

¹ Wallis Island.

² Hoorn Island.

³ Samoa.

⁴ Gilbert Islands.

[361] ⁵ At the time of Tasman's visit in 1643 there seem to have been no
[311] villages. The land was highly cultivated and fenced, and each family
[161] lived in its own plantation. It is more probable that the *Fanogonogo*
Tokoto referred to this than that the population was ever much greater
than at present.

1643.] THE COMING OF THE FOREIGNERS. 311

and were repulsed with heavy loss. Thus one fact was learned—the strangers could not be openly assailed with safety; and the fame of Schouten's prowess, recorded in a rough poem, may have served to protect his great countryman Tasman.

On January 27, 1643, Abel Tasman anchored off Hihifo



Schouten and Lemaire buying provisions in Futuna, 1616, showing ancient mode of wearing the hair. Vide Appendix II. A
(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

in Tongatabu. The natives crowded on board his ships to barter provisions for iron, but beyond pilfering when unobserved, they did not annoy their visitors. A chief, probably the Tui Tonga, Tabuaji, entertained them very hospitably, and invited them on shore. They found that the country was cultivated like a garden. It was divided by neat reed fences into plantations, within which stood

A. /See pp. 402-403 for explanation of picture--
Analyst/

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312 A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA. [1643.

175 the house of the owner. They saw no weapons and no
177 villages, for the time had not yet come when the alarms
361 of civil war would drive the people together for mutual
411 protection. The age of *Fanongonongo Tokoto* (making pro-
669 clamation while reclining) meant the age of peace and
plenty rather than the age of a crowded population.
Among the presents given to the Tui Tonga was a wooden

[501]



An unprovoked attack by Schouten upon a Tongiaki off Niua, May 1616.

Vide Appendix II. A

(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

bowl, said to be that which, in the Tui Tonga's absence, was used by his subjects to absolve the *tabu* in the ceremony of *moëmoë*. Tasman sailed away, and the Tongans saw no more of the foreigners for 124 years. The priceless iron tools they had given them had long been worn out and disappeared, but the memory of their coming, embalmed by one of the native poets, remained fresh to its smallest details. Four kings had reigned and had been laid in their

A /See p. 402 for further information--Analyst/

332 A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA. [1800.

175 As soon as the news reached Finau he set sail with all
669 his forces from Haapai, and disembarked at Hahake, the
eastern end of Tongatabu, in order to procure provisions
for his army; but he found that the country had been
utterly laid waste by the enemy. He therefore lost no
175 time in coasting westward. In Hihifo he met an unex-
669 pected check. The enemy had intrenched themselves
725 behind earthworks surmounted with a strong reed fence.

He tried in vain to force the gate, and when his men were
wearied with repeated attacks the enemy rushed out and
put them to flight. They ran for their canoes, and sailed
at once for Haapai. Finau was now driven to revenge
himself by a series of night attacks. He would arrive off
the coast at nightfall, and post men in every road leading
to the fortress. A sudden attack would then be made,
and the enemy, taken by surprise, would rush into the
country for shelter, where they were struck down by the
men in ambush. Before the alarm could spread to the
neighbouring forts Finau's men had re-embarked and were
[50] under sail for Haapai. These expeditions were made in a
single canoe carrying 250 men.

175 The planting season had come and gone, and the con-
669 stant alarms had prevented any provision for the ensuing
731 year from being made. The object of every hostile expedi-
tion had been to destroy as much of the crops as pos-
sible. The year 1800 opened, therefore, with a terrible
famine in Tongatabu, while in Haapai the land proved
insufficient to support the large number of men congre-
175 gated there. Each district had thrown up intrenchments,
669 within which the people lived, not daring to resume the
[36] cultivation of their lands. Many were driven to can-
[266]

372 THINGS ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ZOOLOGICAL.

164 Chiefly destructive among these are dysentery and whooping-cough, both of them unknown to the Tongans before the advent of European ships. But apart from bacilli of actual foreign diseases, there is now no doubt that the different races of men are themselves uncongenial, and that their first meeting generates a mysterious poison fatal to the weaker race. In the Pacific, Tahiti, Niue (Savage Island), and Penrhyn Island in particular were swept by a destructive epidemic immediately after the visit of the first European ship, though the visitors were not themselves suffering from any such ailment at the time. Such disasters have led the natives of some of the islands to adopt a murderous system of quarantine, and the loss of many lives has been the result. Tonga, however, seems to have been spared this penalty that attaches to the "blessings of civilisation," unless the tradition of an epidemic following Tasman's visit has been lost. The first sickness preserved by tradition is the *ngangan* (lit. headache), a new disease that ravaged the group about the year 1776, but which was not associated in the natives' minds with the visit of [165] Captain Cook three years before. Of this many hundreds are said to have perished.

161 I do not believe that the population of Tonga ever greatly exceeded 20,000. It is true that the natives have [36] traditions of a time when the king's orders could be shouted from house to house as the people lay on their mats; but I think that this refers to the time when each family lived in its own plantation instead of in villages,—a state of things that was observed by Tasman in 1643. Cook estimated the people present at the entertainment given to him at Maofanga in June 1777 at 10,000, the

175 to sling stones at us; but we shot at them with muskets and
 177 three great pieces loaded with nails, whereat they leaped over-
 622 board, not knowing whither to go. But we continued our course,
 609 sailing W. and W. by S. This king must have assembled all
 (142) his forces, for we were surrounded by quite 1000 people afloat,
 of whom one we noticed was wholly white.

The first island—the high one—we called Cocos bergh, and to the other, about a mile from it, we gave the name of Verraders Eylandt, because the people from it sought to betray us.

[DISCOVERY OF NIUAFOOU.]

175 14th.—This morning we saw another island right ahead of us,
 177 about seven miles distant, appearing as if round in form, and by our reckoning about fifty miles from the islands we had left. We named this one "Hope," and hurried towards it, in the hope that we might find better facilities for watering there than we had hitherto.

. . . The soundings were irregular, forty, twenty, thirty fathoms, and no bottom. . . . Twelve canoes came off: were friendly. They gave us four flying-fish, and we gave them beads. Sent the boat along shore for water: some jumped overboard from canoes to capture the boat, which seeing, we fired six musket-shots at them, and two were killed, one shot dead, while the other sat in the canoe wiping the blood from his chest with his hand. They could not understand the shooting, for they saw no missile. The people on shore cried out *Bou! bou! bou!* So did people in the canoes. Finding no anchorage, we got our boat in and went on our course, in the hope of soon finding other land, to the S.W.

[133] The island was full of black cliffs, green on the top, and
 [137] black, and was full of cocos-trees and black earth. There
 [361] was a large village and several other houses on the sea-shore: the land was undulating, but not very high. We called it Good Hope, because we had had good hope of refreshing there.

648 that they would not be satisfied with a Protectorate, but would ask for annexation. I flattered myself that I knew the little people too well to believe the latter forecast.

● 361 As the white line of houses that marked the capital grew in definition, I began to notice changes.

[344] There stood the palace and its church as trim as
[346] ever within the stone-walled compound, but to
[178] the westward, where a native could be seen

running up the British ensign, a wooden bungalow had replaced the picturesque old native-built

342 consulate. These had been prosperous years

178 with the Tongans; there was not a native-built

house to be seen; trim little weather-board

cottages had sprung up everywhere, and in the

vacant space beside the government offices of my

day there now stood a pretentious wooden build-

347 ing, the new House of Parliament. Naturally the

traders, who had had the erecting of all these,

had prospered too, and the line of stores on the

eastern side of the town were resplendent in new

342 paint. Two houses only in all the half-mile—

ruinous, rain-washed, and neglected—told their

own tale. They belonged to old Tungi and his

son Tukuaho, my dear lamented colleague; with

them and with their owners the years had dealt

unkindly, as I shall presently relate.

A GRASS-GROWN CAPITAL 155

The town was asleep in the sun; its trim, ³⁶¹ grassy streets stretching away inland were utterly ³⁶² deserted; it was like a toy town, fresh-painted from the shop before the miniature inhabitants have been taken out of their packing box. Nukualofa is, indeed, unlike any other town in the world. Not long ago a friend of mine encountered an American tourist, just landed from a steamer, gaping at a street corner where four ways meet, and asked him what he was looking at. "Sir," he replied, "they tell me that this is the business quarter of this capital, and I'm going to watch these four grass-walks till I see a human being. But I've wasted ten minutes, and I'll have to give it up."

We were boarded by my friend, Dr. Donald ⁶⁰⁹ Maclellan, who, as the only practitioner in the group, is the hardest-worked man in Tonga. He has had a remarkable career. A Scotsman, educated in Canada, he practised first in San Francisco and afterwards in Hawaii, where he became a close friend of the native queen and the royalist party. When the Revolution of 1893 resulted in annexation by the United States, he made a tour round the Pacific islands without a definite intention of settling, and chanced to reach Tonga when the government was in desperate need

Notes on Tongan Religion.

155

from gods of populous tribes down to deities the private possession of a very few. Naturally, the gods of which one is best able to glean information are those whose devotees were fairly numerous. At the best all that we can get to-day is probably only a glimpse at the old pantheon. But this remnant is doubtless typical, and furnishes a fair idea of the beliefs of old Tonga, as well as interesting parallels with other parts of Polynesia. 776

The apparatus of worship consisted of a temple, apparently in some instances situated amongst trees just outside the village. Too much must not be made of this, however, as the villages which one sees to-day are of modern growth, and in earlier days the population was more scattered. There was at least one sacred grove. In the temples were kept sacred objects, such as war weapons, stones, pieces of wood, more or less roughly carved, and often painted with yellow turmeric. Several fine mats were indispensable, carefully preserved to be spread for the reception of the visiting god in the same way as a household brings out its good mats for a distinguished mortal visitor. At times of worship these mats were spread, and the priest sat either on or beside them, whilst the sacred objects of the temple were displayed on the mats, particularly, if possible, the animal or what not which was specially sacred to the god to whom the appeal was being made. The role of the totem was to act as a vehicle whereby the god might bring himself into physical relation with the material surroundings of human life. The Tongan words used to express the presence of the god in the object sacred to him signifies his "coming in" it, or "using it as a boat." These material objects are seldom, most probably never, the god himself. This, however, is by now so much a commonplace as scarcely to need restatement in the case of any particular people. Not less was the god actually present in the inspired priest. Evidently there were others outside of the regular priesthoods who were liable to inspirations. To the present day some forms of sickness are believed to be due to demonic possession. So far as my personal observation in Tonga goes possession seems now to be always maleficent, but a native connected by blood with Fiji affirms that in that group there are exemplary and devout Christians who receive helpful accessions of divine influence from sources not usually included in any scheme of orthodox theology. 778 [368] 361 [178] 778 285 [825] 781 778 [825] 781 793 [753]

There were priests or priestesses connected with the various cults, who acted as the mouthpieces of the gods, and whose frenzied inspiration seems to have been the really important part of the divine manifestation. There are asserted to have been deities without any sacred animal or other object, but the accuracy of this statement is doubtful. The trembling body, foaming mouth, and wild eyes of 781 793 [776] [154]

II.—INDIVIDUAL GODS.

776 Bulotu Katoa. Bulotu was the Tongan Paradise. As already
 [772] related its chief deity was Hikuleo, but it was the home also of spirits
 [775] of the departed, evidently only of chiefs and great people, to whom
 [114] perhaps some sort of worship was paid. Sometimes one hears of a
 [775] being called Tui Bulotu, i.e., King of Bulotu, but of him I have been
 able to learn nothing. Mariner calls him a minor god of the sea and
 of voyages, and protector of Finau's family. Tuivakano, the Premier
 of Tonga, suggests that some of the gods mentioned by Mariner are
 really the illustrious dead. In spite of the name Tui Bulotu there
 does not seem any reason to disturb the sovereignty of Hikuleo in
 Bulotu, home of wondrous plenty, of the life-giving water, Vai-Ola,
 Water of Life, into which the spirits of the dead seem to have been
 dipped to restore them to life and the power of enjoying the delights
 of their paradise, and of other marvels.

[361] Bulotu Katoa, i.e., the whole of Bulotu, was the grandiloquent
 name of a great deity whose principal shrine was at Boha, in the
 eastern part of Tongatabu. This eastern district, though not now the
 seat of the capital, is the chiefly centre of the ancient polity, the
 residence of the Tui Tonga, the Tui Haatakalauna, and other great
 776 lords. To Bulotu Katoa the whole of Tonga resorted, the Tui Tonga
 643 alone staying at home. I have heard him spoken of as the god of the
 [782] great warrior chiefs, the Tui Kanokupolu, who in process of time and
 change supervening on the coming of the European have displaced
 the Tui Tonga, but the real position seems rather to have been that
 whoever for the time being was most powerful, whether the Tui
 Kanokupolu or another chief, took the lead in national supplication to
 this great god, to avert the calamities of hurricane, drought, and
 776 famine. As a matter of fact Kuku, a very ancient and blue-blooded
 [565] chief, was most intimately associated with the worship of Bulotu
 [115] Katoa, and two related chiefs, Tamale (the present holder of this title
 has given me the best information about this and many other matters;
 his repute as a depository of ancient lore is probably more widely
 recognised than that of any living Tongan), and Ma'olo distributed
 [792] the offerings brought to the god. The name of the priest was
 [276] Takahi. When *kava* was presented to Bulotu Katoa the Tui
 [574] Kanokupolu sat with the ring of outsiders at a distance from the *kava*
 bowl and the leaders of the ceremony.

776 The dog was the sacred animal of this god, and during his worship
 a dog lay at the side of the priest. It was customary to use the word
 [782] *kuli* (dog) in names of Nuku's family. There is a proverbial ex-
 776 pression pretty closely parallel to our English "Let sleeping dogs lie,"
 which is said to have had its first application to the dog of Bulotu
 825 Katoa.
 [192]

Notes on Tongan Religion.

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foes, and it is said of priests that it is better that they themselves should die than that one who has taken refuge with them should perish. Niukapu in gratitude to his deliverer told Kantae to take his pick of a piece of land, but the priest instead asked Niukapu for his *kava*, which means that in *kava* ceremonies Kantae has the right to demand that the cup intended for Niukapu should be brought to him. This practice is not very uncommon. There is an old gentleman in the island of Haano, in Haapai, who, although not a chief himself, has the right to demand the *kava* of a considerable number of chiefs on the ground of their descent from his family.

Taufa is both a sea and a land god. In the sea he is manifested as the shark, and is called Taufa-tahi, i.e., Taufa of the Sea. On land he bore the name Taufu-uta, i.e., Taufu of the Land, but had no separate sacred animal. In fact, Taufu-tahi and Taufu-uta cannot be considered as two distinct manifestations of the god. Taufu was the god, his totem was the shark, and he had his shrines ashore in which he spoke through his priest. The name most commonly applied to him is Taufu-tahi. Taufu's shark seems to have been a mythical sea monster. Near Mua, the chief village in eastern Tongatapu, is a place in the sea, where it is asserted that on calm days white mounds, like the mounds heaped up over the graves of the dead, can be seen beneath the water. This spot is called Taufu's cemetery, and here the god, in the form of an exceedingly white shark, might be sometimes seen.

Taufu was a notable protector of gardens. To secure the services of the god the husbandman had simply to plait a coconut-leaf in the semblance of a shark, and hang it up in his plantation. This placed the garden under a *tabu* that none would dare to violate. It is said that after the introduction of Christianity a man had the hardihood to thrust his hand in mockery into one of these *tabu* signs; but the moribund deity was not to be insulted with impunity, and soon afterwards the sacrilegious violator, whilst bathing in the sea, had both his arms bitten off by a shark. It is interesting to notice that the priestly succession has been maintained to the present day, and a Kantae is still regularly appointed.

Talini Tubon is the god of the Tui Kanokupolu, whose title is now assumed by the constitutional ruler of Tonga. Even before the advent of Christianity real power was gradually passing out of the hands of the Tui Tonga into those of more active lords, notably the Tui Kanokupolu, who was in any case a very high chief. Tubon, the royal title of the Tui Kanokupolu appears in the name of the god. Kanokupolu is itself a small village in the west of Tongatapu, but the Tui Kanokupolu chieftainship has long been a much more important thing than king of this little village would seem to imply, but the real moment of the name Kanokupolu itself must doubtless be sought elsewhere. Kupolu

961 is a widely distributed Polynesian place name. As the capital of the
 1103 modern kingdom Nukualofa is of course the residence of the Tui
 644 Kanokupolu; but the connection between this chieftainship and
 Nukualofa is of longer standing than merely since the establishment of
 Christianity. The ancient Nukualofa was much smaller than the
 present town, which includes within its boundaries a number of family
 groups who inhabited areas whose names and locations are still
 known.

778 The sacred object of Talini Tubou is a large black volcanic pebble,
 roughly oval in shape, now in the possession of the Wesleyan College,
 Nukualofa. This stone is called 'Tui Ahau, i.e., King of Ahau. Its
 613 headquarters were probably Kolovai, the largest town in western
 778 Tongatabu, and the home of Ata, the head of the Haa Ngata (Tribe of
 Ngata), to which the Tui Kanokupolu belongs. Ahio was originally
 the head of this tribe, but his influence waned by a process similar to
 that by which the Tui Tonga's prestige diminished.

778 Besides the 'Tui Ahau in Nukualofa there is lying on the ground
 in Kolovai another stone of the same kind, which enjoys a sort of twin
 sanctity, and is reputed to possess the power, rather unusual in a stone,
 of bringing forth little pebbles. The natives who led me to see the
 stone narrated this curious circumstance with perfect gravity, but
 search failed to reveal any of the fruits of petrine propagation.

These stones are of a sort not found on the coral islands of the
 group, and were perhaps brought from one or other of the two
 volcanic mountains in Huapai, Tofua and Kao.

776 Bekebeka-a-Tama, a flying-fox god, belonging originally to Ula, a
 825 *matatule* (minor chief, or rather, great gentleman-attendant of a chief)
 of Ahau, a village near Kolovai, in western Tongatabu, but now
 778 transferred to Ata of Kolovai. The actual god seems to be a purely
 mythical flying-fox, whose appearance is an omen of disaster to Ata.
 Bekebeka-a-tama is distinguished from the rank and file of flying-foxes
 (*beke*) by his white colour, but I know of no one who claims ever to
 824 have seen him.* In Kolovai are several casuarina trees on which the
 825 flying-foxes are protected by a *tabu*, and which are covered with the
 784 rather noisome little creatures. One or two great chiefs, however,
 have the right of shooting them on the prohibited trees. If one falls
 from the trees to the ground it is free of the *tabu*, and may be picked
 up and taken away. Rumour avers that the modern small boy's awe
 of the *tabu* is not sufficient to deter him from trying the effect of a
 825 unrepentitious missile. Should the flying-foxes desert their trees Ata
 276 must make *kava* for them and so entice them home again.

* Ata has since told me that he has several times seen a white flying-fox,
 most recently within the last two or three years.

She is generally regarded as the Moon-goddess, and this view was spontaneously put forward by a Tongan in conversation with me.

Tregear, in his Maori Comparative Dictionary, speaks of her as being connected in the Maori accounts with the Ocean-lord, Tinirau, in a very mythical manner. The Tongan myth of her marriage with Jinilau has been mentioned above.

The tradition of Hina as the sister-wife of the Shark god, Toki-langa-fonua, has already been noticed. This is not her only association with the shark. A Tongan native has told me that in shark-fishing the sharks are often addressed as Hina. In Eueika (Little Eua), an island not far from Eua, Hina is said to be the daughter of the first Tui Tufu, the chief of Eueika. She was very lovely, but one day, whilst sporting in the surf she disappeared, and nothing could be discovered of her fate, till at length she inspired in her father a dream, telling him that through the ill-will of a Samoan god she had been swallowed by a shark, into which the malevolent deity had entered to compass her destruction. Her father thereupon told his people that they need never more fear the shark, as nobody of Eueika would ever more be endangered by one. It is said that as a matter of fact there is no known instance of an Eueika man or woman having been injured by a shark, although both sexes freely and fearlessly swim long distances in the open sea.

In Vavau Hina is the daughter of Maunga-koloa and Tama-tang-kia, and sister of Ngatai (Sea, or Seawards) and Fanna (Land). She had a pet shark, which she kept in a pool ashore, till one day, during an exceptionally high tide, which overflowed the pool, it made good its escape to the open ocean. Hina was inconsolable at the loss of her favourite, and started off to seek it, with her parent, rowing three in the canoe. When the shark was at length discovered out at sea Hina, in order to remain near her pet, jumped into the water and became a reef. Her parents commenced to return to shore, but, unwilling to leave their daughter, they too leapt into the sea, and became two rocks. The three-oared canoe flew up into the sky, and became part of the constellation of Orion. Hina's two brothers, Ngatai and Fanna, later set off to seek their father and mother and sister, and became two other rocks or reefs.

Sinailele, the Fijian mother of Tui Motuliki, is probably another appearance of Hina.

The Shark is also the god of the clan of the Tui Tofua, i.e., King, or Chief, of Tofua, a high volcanic island in Haapai, historically interesting as being the island on which Blight landed after the mutiny of the "Bounty," and from which commenced his wonderful open-boat voyage. Tofua is not now inhabited, but people lived there within the memory of living men.

Tongan landed chiefs are land hungry. The old practice was to claim as much as possible of the neighbouring lord's territory upon his death. Careful surveys now being made by the government are fixing permanently the boundaries of hereditary lands, so that expansion of one's holdings at the expense of some minor heir who is unfamiliar with his inheritance will soon be no longer possible. It is of interest to note that the chief who would be Tui Tonga, if that office had not been abolished, has by legal procedure in recent years secured the return of lands improperly claimed by others.

Euro-American culture has had a hand in transforming the Tongan population from a rural one to a village-dwelling one. The transformation had its beginning at the end of the eighteenth century when civil war forced the people to leave their farms and seek refuge in fortresses. Thus village life seems to have begun. Then came the missionary and a great wave of religious enthusiasm which served to reinforce the new village ties rather than to dissipate them. The copra trade and the scant attention required for the coconut trees doubtless, in a negative way, has helped to perpetuate the village life. The result is that modern Tonga is a country of villages. The farms surround the villages at varying distances and the villager makes periodic excursions to his eight-acres of farm land. All of this has not been beneficial to agriculture. Much land once cultivated intensively has become bush. There are signs, however, of revival. A prominent chief is inducing his people to give up village life and dwell on their farms. Recently introduced agricultural fairs seem also to offer a much-needed stimulus. It seems likely that the next few decades will see a return to the intensive cultivation of heathen days. The series of food plants has been much enlarged by introductions.

Tracts of farm land are sometimes given the names of foreign lands with which the Tongan has become acquainted in school. More frequently, however, tracts within the villages are given such names. The Tongan seems to have a considerable interest in geography and he likes to travel. His geographic poems amply attest this. This love of travel and of topography is still rife. The monthly steamers and the sailing passenger boats carry many Tongans from one part of the archipelago to another or to more distant Samoa and Fiji. Modern vessels continue to cater to the Tongans'

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[368] ner in his book on the Tonga Islands. The summit of this mound is now crowned by a good chapel of native construction, which affords an excellent land-mark to navigators making for the anchorage; and it also stands as a very prominent emblem of the Gospel triumphs that have been achieved over the former habits of the people.

Looking eastward, Bagaimotu and a cluster of other islands, stretching away to the north-east, shut out the "*Hahake*," or eastern end of Tonga, from sight, whilst *Hihifo* and the island of Atata bound the prospect on the extreme west.

632 The town of Nukualofa may be regarded not only as the capital of Tongatabu, but as the metropolis of the little ocean empire of King George Tubou. It has risen from the obscurity of a small village, and has become the centre of religious influence and the chief seat of political authority, while several of the ancient royal residences have been almost entirely deserted. It is partly indebted for [361] its importance to its admirable situation on the sea-board, but most of all to the fact, that Christian [797] converts from various heathen towns were drawn thither, during successive years, that they might reap the full benefit of Missionary instruction, and be freed also from the persecutions to which they were subjected by their heathen friends. A short description of this town will serve to indicate the general appearance and arrangements of all others.

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[363] Nukualofa is intersected by tolerably wide paths, kept scrupulously free from all rank vegetation and dirt. These paths are bounded by the neat reed [351] fences which enclose the *abis* or residential sections [245] of the various chiefs and their retainers. These

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN.

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enclosures are planted largely with useful trees, such as the bread-fruit, banana, cocoa-nut, orange, citron, shaddock, and a variety of shrubs whose overhanging foliage effectually screens the pathways from the intense heat of the sun. Very little order is observed in placing the numerous houses within these enclosures. There are no regular avenues or streets. In fact, a house is generally placed where it can obtain the greatest amount of shade from overhanging trees,—a matter certainly of considerable importance in a tropical climate. A casual visitor, therefore, can see but few dwellings even when he has entered within the *loto a*, or fence of the *abi*; and, until he hunts them out amongst the abounding shrubbery, he wonders where the people live.

A Tonguese house suits the few necessities and easy habits of the people, but has none of the comforts so essential to a higher type of civilization. With the exception of what may be called public buildings, and a few of the dwellings of the chiefs of highest rank, their dimensions are small, and they contain but two apartments. They are, however, constructed with an eye to neatness and great strength; and when elaborately finished in the best native style, their interior appearance is by no means to be despised. The walls range from four to eight feet in height, and are formed either of a single or double fencing of reeds, which, when interlaced and bound by sinnet to the *tokotuus*, or stakes and posts, planted all round the eaves of the building, resembles very much strong basket-work. These walls are sometimes made more wind and weather tight by the addition of a lining of plaited cocoa-nut leaves; but, at the best, they afford a

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STRUCTURE OF NATIVE HOUSES.

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from whence they peep out upon the passer-by. 342
 But, no doubt, the close proximity of so many trees and shrubs is exceedingly deleterious to health [351]
 during the rainy seasons; and great risk is also incurred by the practice, when a hurricane comes sweeping all before it, and crushing the dwellings of the people beneath the falling trees. A somewhat unfortunate attempt was made, a good many years since, at sanitary improvement, under the direction of one of the Missionaries, on whose behalf, however, it is but fair to state, that his intention and instructions were far exceeded by the action of the natives. Having stated to some of the chiefs in the town of Lifuka, Haabai, that a disease, then raging as an epidemic, might possibly be lessened by a clearance of the bush, they immediately issued instructions to cut down and destroy every tree and bush in the town, and to throw open a wide space from thence clear away to the sea. Amidst the shouts and merriment of a thousand voices, axes and fire soon did the work; but it was very shortly found more intolerable to bear day by day the full blaze of the vertical sun, than to endure the more rare evils of a hurricane, or even the miasma arising from rank vegetation. Since 342
 that time it has been difficult to prevail upon 178
 the people to undertake any really beneficial 361
 changes in the structure and location of their houses.

Upon landing at Nukualofa, we were kindly received by the veteran Missionary, the Rev. John Thomas, and his good lady, both of whom had spent many years of varied and useful labour among the people. Their house differed but little from those of the natives, excepting in size; also 797

CHAPTER VIII.

THE town of Neiafu—Study of the language—First Tonguese sermon—Sketch of Jone Fifita—Faubula, the son of the King of Lakemba—Vavau in 1846—A Sabbath day's labour—Calls for help—Variety of Missionary occupations—Administration of Medicine—Tonguese doctors—Instances of their skill—Visit and letter of Professor Harvey—"Protestant Missions Medical Aid Society"—Boat-building—Missionary Journal—Chapel-opening at Toulā—A visit to Hologa—Tonguese Palanquin—Inauguration of oil contributions—Mode of burying foreigners at Toulā—The God of Makave—Missionary tour to out-stations—Various services—Huga, and its cavern and Bay—Niababu—Singular cavern—Native tradition—Lord Byron's poem of the "Island"—Cave at Falevai—Return to Neiafu—Sacramental service.

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STANDING upon ground reputed sacred in heathen times, the town of Neiafu was of considerable note, and it was resorted to as a sort of neutral territory, in the wars of Haafuluhao. Its chief importance, however, in modern days, has resulted, like that of Nukualofa in Tongatabu, from its facilities for intercourse with Europeans, and from the concentration thither of Mission families and their influence.

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The town is situated in a valley, stretching between the hill of Talau, and that which overhangs Neiafu Tahi. The immediate site of the town lies behind a small cove facing Neiafu Bay, in which stand several large *hala folaus*, or canoe sheds, into which the sea-going Kalias are drawn for shelter from the sun. These sheds resemble in form, but only on a much smaller scale, those that cover ships while in course of construction in our English naval yards. Ascending the rising ground behind these sheds, the path passes between the *abis* of the king, and those of several of the principal chiefs.

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● 361 Beyond these stands the *Bouvalu*, a large open
 [344] building devoted to the reception of strangers, and
 to the transaction of all public business. Around
 [351] this place there is a *malae*, or grassy sward, of
 [764] several acres in extent, fringed by cocoa-nut and
 cedar trees; the prospect being bounded on the
 right by the hill of Neiafu, at the foot of which lies
 a burial-ground, where the remains of two mission-
 aries have been interred, near the tombs of the
 leading native families.

361 Proceeding a little further inland, the Chapel is
 368 reached. That which stood there in 1846, mea-
 797 sured one hundred feet by forty-five. Turning
 [491] from thence to the left by a road leading towards
 Talau, the Mission premises were soon reached.
 These consisted, at the time specified, of a large
 printing-office, containing three presses with all
 their necessary appurtenances; and beyond that
 building lay the dwellings required for three Mis-
 sion families. These were erected upon separate
 [417] *abis*, or allotments of gardening land, the whole
 [245] being surrounded by a neat native fence, with a
 magnificent row of large orange-trees lining the
 entire frontage to the road.

797 After the bustle of landing our stores was over,
 the active duties of Mission life immediately com-
 menced. Among these, the acquirement of the
 797 language was felt to be the thing of greatest im-
 122 portance. We had not been idle in this matter
 since reaching the islands: but still, in the pre-
 vailing religious excitement, and the consequent
 increase of labour devolving upon our senior col-
 league, Mr. Turner, we saw abundant reason for
 prosecuting its study with unsparing diligence.

[123] We longed to take an active part in the religious

Land Tenure and Social Organisation in Tonga

101

its wishes known to the people. As far as the land is concerned, his role is that of a field officer who knows which tax allotments are vacant and which others are occupied and by whom. He was described to me as being related to the chief.⁶²¹

There are four churches in the village, each belonging to a different denomination. These are the Free Church of Tonga, the Church of Tonga, the Wesleyan Church, and the Mormon Church. Although there are also Roman Catholics in the village, they have no church of their own. There are church functions within each denomination which demand the co-operation of all its own members. If a Mormon Church is being built, for instance, this is regarded as properly the task of the Mormons only and not of anyone belonging to any of the other Churches, between whom there is only minimal liaison.⁶⁴⁴

Most of the households contain no more than an elementary family. In some cases there are relatives of various descriptions staying with such families, and in others there are guests (including some from other islands in the Tongan Group). In a considerable number of cases it is affinal relatives, such as the wife's mother or brother, who live in the household with the elementary family. In a very limited number of cases, there are more than one married couple in a household. In every case, however, the household is the most persistent unit associated with work on the land.⁷⁹⁴

Of unifying principles covering the whole village there are only two: the people's common allegiance and subordination to their chief, and the fact of common allegiance to the Government through its representatives in the village. There is no village council after the Fijian pattern, or even after the pattern of the Samoan *fono*. There is indeed a Tongan *fono*, but this is a gathering of all the people to hear the orders of the chief, not one where sectional interests within the village are pitted against one another.⁷⁹⁵

The land upon which the village stands and the lands upon which its members plant their food gardens and cash crops are part of the hereditary *tofa* of the high chief of the area. He has *tofa* in several other parts of Tonga, but the one in which this village is situated comprises the following divisions:⁶²²

1 block for his own use	—	—	—	—	209 acres
101 <i>api tukuhau</i> held within the village	—	—	—	—	833 "
40 <i>api tukuhau</i> held by members of other villages	—	—	—	—	330 "
6 <i>api tukuhau</i> currently vacant	—	—	—	—	50 "
1 lease	—	—	—	—	8 "

Total — 1430 acres⁶²³

¹⁰ There is no reference to a Town Officer in Pangai, only to an overseer who performs similar functions, Beaglehole 1941:25, 30.

¹¹ The figures given are approximate, being based on a calculation allowing roughly 8½ acres per *api*. In practice *api* are usually 2 or 3 perches more or less than this figure. The 40 *api* held outside the village are held by members of the "next-door" villages. The lease is to a part-European. ⁶²⁴

Land Tenure and Social Organisation in Tonga

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This table shows that it is certainly not a case of "every household being related to every other household", and emphasizes the comparative independence of Tongan households. All the same the figures are remarkably low, even for a Tongan village, I am told. How is this to be explained?

It seems that at least part of the explanation is to be found in the fact that there are so many people in the village who come from a different area: 47 of the 106 households in the village are those of men who are not of local origin, their places of origin being tabulated below:²⁴

TABLE 4
PLACES OF ORIGIN OF IMMIGRANT HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

Place of Origin of Head of Household	No. of Households
Niuafo'ou — — — — —	6
Ninatopotapu — — — — —	3
Ha'apai — — — — —	18
Vava'u — — — — —	8
Tungua — — — — —	3
Eua — — — — —	4
Other (mainly villages in Tongatapu) — — — — —	5
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Now 47 out of 106, representing 44.5 per cent of all the households in the village, is an unusually high figure compared with, for instance, Fiji. From discussions in Tonga, I am told that it is also a high figure even for a Tongan village, so that this village must be regarded as atypical in this respect. But why this unusual feature?

The land tenure system, of course, in its principles opens up the possibility for movement from one area to another in search of land, and may be expected to produce effects of the type noticed in this village. In fact, however, explanation of the mixed nature of the village population was given to me in terms of the relatively central position of the village and its proximity to the capital town and to the schools and other institutions situated in or around it. Something of this was seen in B's comment on p. 102; but it can be confirmed by figures relating to the distribution of land in the village itself. Below is a table of the relative distribution of land among households of local and of immigrant origin respectively:

TABLE 5
RELATIVE LAND DISTRIBUTION AMONG LOCAL AND IMMIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS

No. of Apl per Household	No. of Households		Percentage of Households in Each Category	
	L.	I.	L.	I.
0	7	20	12	42.5
1	39	23	66	49
2	7	4	12	8.5
3	4	—	6.5	—
4	2	—	3.5	—
	59	47	100.0	100.0

²⁴ The first six places named are other islands in the Tongan Group, except Ha'apai, which is a group of islands within the Tongan Group.

592 It is clear that the people who come from another village or island
 621 fare worse than those of local origin as far as land distribution is
 423 concerned. While I have no data comparing their position here with
 166 what it would have been in their own villages (and it is likely that
 they are worse off here) it seems clear that their presence in this
 village cannot be explained consistently in terms of any search for
 land. As far as the land tenure system is concerned, therefore, it would
 appear wrong to suppose that just because it opens up the possibility
 for movement, such movement will actually take place.

8—LAND TENURE AND VILLAGE STRUCTURE

621 From the material already given it seems clear that the structure
 613 of this village is certainly not based upon a firm lineage organisation.
 622 The overall principle which binds the people together is simply their
 [592] common subjection to their traditional overlord. The amorphous nature
 of kinship in its role of binding together the different households of the
 village has been demonstrated, so that from this point of view the
 [166] village is largely an aggregation of isolated households. It has been
 pointed out that the village is atypical in having so many persons who
 come from other areas, and much of the nature of the village structure
 must be due to this factor. But how far the village is also atypical in
 respect of its lack of an overall lineage organisation is not clear, and I
 made no specific comparative enquiries along these lines. The data
 supplied by Gifford,²² however, suggest that the tendency is for the
 large modern villages to be of the form observed here.

621 Such a form of village structure is, I suggest, rather to be expected
 361 from the nature of village evolution in Tonga. The development of the
 178 nucleated village form is of comparatively recent origin, dating back
 to certainly not earlier than the 17th century. Before that there were
 only peasant farmers cultivating their holdings from farmsteads
 scattered throughout the countryside. From the nature of the Tongan
 613 lineage, it is clear that not all such farmers who came under the control
 622 of any particular chief need necessarily be related by blood. When
 621 they came together to form villages, therefore, it was more on the
 361 basis of common allegiance to the feudal overlord than on the basis of
 relationship in the male line.

To return to our village, however, we may say that although ties
 621 of kinship or lineage affiliation between households are of attenuated
 613 development in this village, they are supplemented by other ties—those
 602 based upon religious affiliation, economic co-operation, and even on
 571 general "friendship". In a large part, these ties have developed as a
 result of living together in villages; and, taken together with kinship
 ties, they are seen to influence the distribution (using this word in its
 widest sense) and working of the land in ways which are not contem-
 [423] plated by the legal system, but which do not therefore violate it. Land
 tenure, for its part, also produces certain associations and inter-
 dependencies between households, which play an important part in the
 final elaborations of the village structure.

²² Gifford 1929:8-10.

BLOOD GROUPS IN TONGANS, (POLYNESIA)¹

By J. M. STAVELEY and R. DOUGLAS

- 125 RESULTS OF TESTING 200 Tongans for various blood groups and abnormal haemoglobins are the subject of this report. A blood group study of this population has been reported by Kooptzoff and Walsh.² These workers tested 102 subjects for the A, A₂BO, MNS and Rh systems. We have extended the blood group systems tested to include P, Lewis, Kell, Duffy, Kidd, Diego, Wright, Vel, Sutter and the serum Gm groups. Saliva was also examined for secretion of ABH and Le^a substances, and a search was made for abnormal haemoglobins.

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES³

- 101 The kingdom of Tonga consists of about 200 islands in three major groups, Tongatapu in the south, Vava'u in the north, and the Ha'apai group lying between these. The islands of Vava'u are generally high and mountainous, those of Ha'apai and Tongatapu low-lying and of coral formation. The kingdom lies between 15° and 23° south and 173° and 177° west, and is free from malaria.

- 131 Nuku'alofa, the capital, is on the main island of the southern group, Tongatapu, and lies 1,100 miles north-east of Auckland. The population of the kingdom in 1959⁴ is given as 58,351, of which 56,669 are Tongans, and 1,682 part Tongans, Europeans and others.

- 161 According to tradition, the inhabitants of Tonga came from Samoa
162 somewhere about 950 A.D.

COLLECTION OF SPECIMENS

- 125 With the approval of the Government of Tonga, Dr. Sione Tapa,
126 Chief Medical Officer, generously undertook the selection of the subjects and the collection of the specimens. In this work, Dr. Sateki Tupou, Assistant Medical Officer, played a big part. From each selected person, a clotted blood specimen and blood in Alsever's solution with added antibiotics was obtained by venepuncture. The saliva specimen was obtained after the mouth had been rinsed with water, and was heated in a boiling water bath for ten minutes.

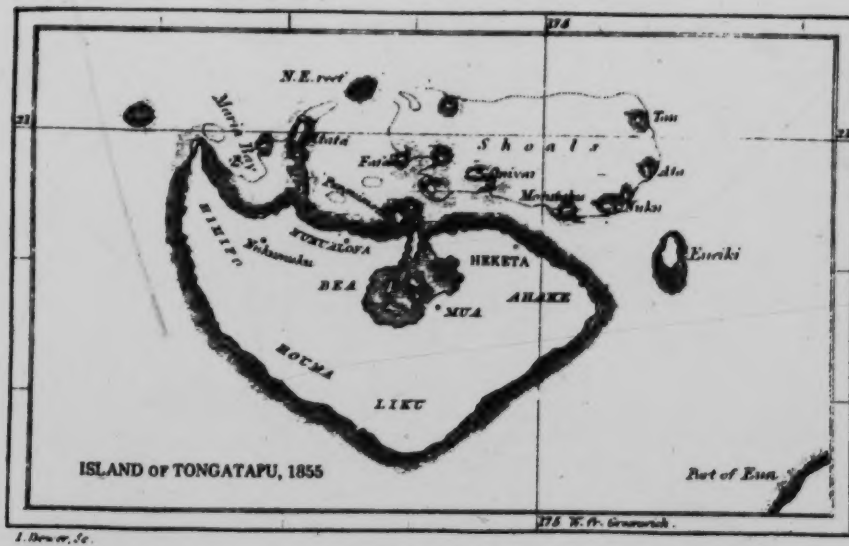
- [101] The samples from the 200 people concerned in the study were collected in batches of 50; one batch in May 1959, two during July 1959, and one in September 1959. This allowed the collection to take place just prior to the departure of a ship for New Zealand. It also allowed the testing of each batch to be completed during the week after arrival

[122] ¹ This work was carried out under a grant from the Auckland Medical Research Foundation.

² Kooptzoff & Walsh, 1957.

³ Pacific Islands Year Book, 1956:109.

⁴ Pacific Islands Year Book, 1959:111.



[P. 27-A]

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An aerial view of south-eastern Tongatapu shows the village of Nakolo and surrounding farm lands. In early Tonga, villages such as this did not exist; instead, land was divided into districts, with a chief ruling a particular family clan, and homes were scattered. Villages, as such, are comparatively new innovations, probably arising out of the need for defense at the time of Tonga's civil war.

Ko e kolo eni ko Nakolo 'i Hahake, 'a ia 'oku ha 'i he ta na'e fai mei ha vakapuna. 'I he taimi fuolos, na'e 'ikai ke 'i aii ha ngaahi kolo pehe ni ia. Na'e vahevahe e fonua ki he ngaahi vahe fonua, pea pule'i ia 'e ha 'eiki pe matapule. 'Oku pehe tokua na'e toki kamata mai pe ki mui ni mai 'a e nofo fakakolo, mahalo lolotonga e tau fakalotofonua.

[p. 57-A]

islands, from 'Ata in the south to Niuafu'ou some 500 miles to the north, served as navigation "beacons" which lit up and signposted the vast ocean highway, making deliberate contact between parts of the group a not uncommon happening from very early times. This, in turn, encouraged cultural homogeneity and the emergence of a central political authority in the eastern more densely settled, low coral islands running parallel to the volcanic chain. A high degree of social stratification and strong dynastic rule uniting the islands can be traced back to the tenth century, and this continued without interruption for several centuries. Although the main groups of islands, Vava'u, Ha'apai and Tongatapu, had in practice become separate political entities by the time of European discovery, this is unlikely to have diminished the contact among them. In the disturbances which followed discovery the whole group was plunged into sporadic civil war (1799-1826) in which it is estimated that a quarter of the population died, and peace and unity were not really restored until 1852. Warfare, introduced diseases, and new political and missionary activities had effects on population numbers, distribution and settlement patterns no whit less dramatic than the pressure of the present day. The pace, direction and character of population movement may have changed, but movement and change are in themselves not new phenomena in Tonga.

DISPERSED AND NUCLEATED SETTLEMENTS

Today's typical settlement consists of an assortment of houses set on two-fifths of an acre allotments ('api kolo) sited close to the sea on the sheltered side, and some distance inland on the weather side, of an island. The settlement is nucleated, its boundaries marked by a graveyard, sometimes by an *ā kolo* or village fence, and always by a clear transition in land use: the residential village gives way to cultivated 'api tukuhau or tax allotments, usually of 8½ acres to which all male taxpayers over 16 years are theoretically entitled. Apart from the towns of Neiafu in Vava'u, Pangai-Hihi in Ha'apai and Nuku'alofa and nearby industrial Havelu Loto in Tongatapu, there are few differences, except in size, in form or function among villages anywhere in the group. Some, with population growth, have expanded and joined to form one continuous settlement, but even then the component parts have retained their separate identity and, with this, the characteristics of the small village.

This pattern is of relatively recent origin, for the first European explorers to visit Tonga recorded no villages as such. Tasman, who first discovered the islands in 1643, observed that "every man lived in his own gardens, the allotments being separated by reed fences."³ Cook,

³ Cited by Kennedy (1958): 162.

POPULATION CHANGES IN TONGA

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over a hundred years later, wrote: "There are no towns or villages, 175 most of the houses are built in the plantations, with no order other 361 than what convenience requires."⁴ Kennedy has argued:

These apparently dispersed dwellings may have virtually been in groups covering a proportion of the land held by each chief . . . This being a comparatively small area, the settlement pattern would in effect represent a village, though quite different in form from its modern counterpart.⁵

Maude concedes only a "district (which) appears to have had a centre, in and around which the chief, his family and his immediate attendants and followers were settled."⁶ Cook called Mu'a, the permanent residence of the *tu'i tonga*, a "village" and Gifford claimed Nuku'alofa to have been a seasonal or temporary residence of the *tu'i kanokupolu*.⁷ But it is clear that these places were quite atypical of settlement as a whole. While it is not unreasonable to suppose that "groupings" and "centres", permanent and temporary existed, it seems arbitrary to attempt a precise definition: the evidence is slight and open to various interpretations. What is clear is that villages as we now know them 175 appeared only with the outbreak of civil war in 1799, when Tongans in 361 the southern group congregated into palisaded villages, or *kolo*. As 669 the war spread to other parts of the group, large village forts appeared in all the main islands and when peace returned these often became the sites of the first modern villages. It has been assumed that Tongans, 361 after half a century of living in village forts, immediately forsook the 178 chance to return to the old dispersed settlement pattern. This would appear to be an oversimplification of a more gradual process, for as late as 1830 Orlebar noted: "the huts of the natives, scattered irregularly over the country in groups of three and four. . . ."⁸ It seems that diverse factors working unevenly throughout the group may have persuaded some people of the advantages of village life, while others only came to live in villages at a later date. Maude claims:

"Mission influence was probably a major factor, for compact villages were [797] almost essential for regular church and school attendance and at the same time facilitated the closer supervision of the people and their activities; religious enthusiasms, too, helped to bind the members of new settlements together. For the Tongans the major attractions were the churches and schools and, later, water tanks and stores, and the greater opportunities for social life and community activities."⁹

Another factor of major significance for the evolution of the settle- [565] ment pattern was the establishment of constitutional government by [622]

⁴ Cited by Maude (1965): 28.

⁵ Kennedy, *op. cit.*

⁶ Maude, *op. cit.*

⁷ Gifford (1929): 101.

⁸ Cited by Maude, *op. cit.*

⁹ Maude: 61.

178 George Tupou. The new laws concerning relations between chief and
 361 commoner gave the ordinary Tongan much more independence and
 565 freedom of movement; while other laws obliged chiefs to allocate
 622 land to their followers which in effect usually resulted in the allocation
 of town and country land. The distinction between '*api kolo*, the place
 to reside, and '*api tukuhau*, the place to cultivate, was thus sharpened
 by legal definition, but it seems probable that while the laws encouraged
 the new form of settlement in some places, in others they merely
 confirmed what had become an established practice. In the 1920s
 Tungi, the husband of the late Queen Salote, sought to encourage
 people on his *tofi'a* or estate to return to dispersed living. By forfeiting
 their right to an '*api kolo*, they could obtain 12½ acres of '*api tukuhau*
 instead of the customary 8½ acres. This venture was not very successful
 and in three of the four villages where it was encouraged, most of the
 people have now returned to the village centre.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

162 There is evidence to suppose that settlement was more widespread than
 361 it is today, although the populations involved were often small. The
 volcanic islands have apparently always been less densely settled than
 [312] the coral islands of the group. They are too small to provide permanent
 fresh water streams, much of their area is too steep for cultivation,
 landing places are poor, and occasional volcanic eruptions are a further
 deterrent to settlement. Their isolation, however, heightened their
 attraction in times of civil disturbance and most were occupied until
 the mid-nineteenth century. Only Niuafo'ou and Niuatoputapu continued
 to support relatively high populations into this century, and the former
 [621] was evacuated following an eruption in 1946. As with earlier resettlement-
 ments, an attempt was made to maintain old social groupings and nine
 Niuafo'ou villages were re-established in 'Eua.¹⁰

[312] The coral islands also lack fresh water but the habitable area is often
 more extensive, the soils of many have been enriched by ash showers,
 the surrounding reefs make for good fishing, and communications are
 easier. There are, however, some notable exceptions. Uoleva, for in-
 stance, always appears to have been uninhabited. Its sandy loams are
 unsuitable for growing yam and, although visited by people from
 nearby Lifuka and farmed to some extent, there is no record of

¹⁰ Not all resettled in 'Eua; about half stayed in Tongatapu. Of earlier settled
 islands, 'Ata is reported to have had a population of 200, consisting of
 refugees from several islands until Peruvian raiders forced its evacuation in
 the 1860s. Its inhabitants were resettled in a new village called Ha'atua in
 'Eua. Refugees from Tongatapu resided on Toku and farmed the more fertile
 nearby Fonualei until an eruption in 1846 led missionaries to persuade its
 inhabitants to move to Utulei in Vava'u. Similarly Late, Kao and Tofua were
 all inhabited prior to the mid 1860s.

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permanent settlement. The same is true for some of the smaller Ha'apai islands: they have been farmed from nearby islands, but have never supported permanent populations. In Vava'u, the uninhabited islands are often small, steep and rocky, while the small islands off Tongatapu which were once inhabited are today the preserves of sojourning fishermen. Of more interest is the large island of 'Eua (34 square miles), the reason for the small population of which has long been an enigma. The difficult passage to Tongatapu is said by Tongans to be the main reason for its low population. While this could deter intensive settlement a more likely factor, as Maude surmises, is the scarcity of seafoods. Maude, in seeking a rationale for adjacent areas of high and low density within the group, has suggested that densities are generally determined by a balance of both land and sea resources. Where sea resources are limited or access to them difficult, as in parts of eastern Ha'apai and Tongatapu, in the higher parts of 'Uta Vava'u, and in 'Eua, population densities are low; conversely, where the shores and reefs are highly productive, as in the smaller western islands of Ha'apai and the western tip of Tongatapu, densities are high. This, broadly, can be assumed to have influenced traditional settlement patterns, which only today are being modified as population increases and new influences, such as urbanism, take their effect.

Estimations of the size and distribution of population within the group prior to the first census (1921), of which there are no extant records, rely on what at best can be termed informed guesses, sometimes supported by mission returns and head counts. None of the censuses until 1956 can really be considered reliable. Of these earlier censuses McArthur states that fluctuations of the populations of individual islands "are such as to arouse considerable doubts of the accuracy of either the recording or summarising of the data."¹¹ Table 1 is presented with this warning heeded, but in the belief that several broad conclusions can be drawn from it.

This table shows an overall pattern of population decline and recovery common in the Pacific following contact with Europeans. Tupouniua has suggested three contact phases:¹²

1. 1643-1799: A phase in which there is no record of—"large scale destruction through diseases, and wars were totally unknown. Presumably, therefore, there was a balanced and vigorous population with steady population growth."

2. 1799-1852: "A phase of bewilderment and social disintegration marked by a sense of insecurity. There was much rivalry for power between chiefs that . . . ended in armed conflicts . . . (while) . . . several epidemics are reported to have occurred with heavy loss of life."

¹¹ McArthur (1967): 81.

¹² Tupouniua (1958): 17-18.

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Enumeration Districts and Percentages Born In and Outside Districts (Tongans only)

Based on figures derived from the 1956 and 1966 censuses.

Enumeration District	% born in district	% born outside district
Tongatapu 1956	78.6	21.4
Tongatapu 1966	78.2	21.8
Ha'apai 1956	84.9	15.1
Ha'apai 1966	86.3	13.7
Vava'u 1956	81.6	18.4
Vava'u 1966	87.1	12.9
'Eua 1956	48.1	51.9
'Eua 1966	46.8	53.2

each group for 1966 is shown below, with 1956 figures in parentheses: Tongatapu 480 (313); Ha'apai 523 (498); Vava'u 304 (279); Niuatoputapu 191 (172); and 'Eua 100 (57). Niuafu'ou, resettled during this period, had a population of 599 in 1966, and Tofua also now had a permanent population of 123. Settlements expanded, and with no new ones founded, average village sizes increased in the three main groups. Tofua and the three main towns excepted, Tongatapu villages now averaged 529 (362), Ha'apai villages 346 (309), and Vava'u villages 283 (275). Outside Tongatapu, Leimatu'a in Vava'u remained the only village with over a thousand people; but in Tongatapu the number of such villages nearly doubled, from four to nine.

Table 2 shows the changed percentage of populations living in the islands of their birth in 1956 and 1966, and Table 3 shows where

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Birthplaces and Enumeration Districts (Tongans only)

Based on figures derived from the 1956 and 1966 censuses.

	District of Enumeration (percentages)			
	Tongatapu	Ha'apai	Vava'u	'Eua
Tongatapu 1956	90.0	3.8	4.7	1.1
Tongatapu 1966	92.9	2.2	2.3	2.0
Ha'apai 1956	24.1	69.5	5.5	0.7
Ha'apai 1966	32.3	62.0	3.9	1.4
Vava'u 1956	16.5	2.6	80.1	0.4
Vava'u 1966	24.9	2.9	70.2	1.3
'Eua 1956	18.0	2.1	1.4	78.4
'Eua 1966	20.0	1.7	1.3	75.3

people born in the main groups were living in these years. The less important islands of Niuatoputapu and Niuafu'ou are not shown. These tables suggest marked differences in the stability of population, ranging from Tongatapu, where 93 percent of the population born there were still residents in 1966, to Ha'apai, where the figure was 62 percent;

Figure 2 shows the changing growth rates by islands in the Ha'apai and Vava'u groups, and figure 3 shows similar changes by village in Tongatapu.

161 and a sharp deterioration in stability between 1956 and 1966, especially
 162 with regards to Vava'u and the overall pace of migration to Tongatapu.
 166 Table 3 also helps to place the respective migrations to Tongatapu
 and 'Eua in better perspective. Although migrants from all islands had
 increased in both islands, the various attractions of Tongatapu were
 clearly more important than 'Eua's one attraction—land, even, appar-
 ently, for those born in 'Eua of which a fifth were resident in Tonga-
 tapu in 1966. The table also shows a drop in the percentage of Tonga-
 tapu-born residing in Ha'apai and Vava'u. Most people born in
 Tongatapu and residing in these islands are government and church
 officials, women married to local men or children born in Tongatapu of
 Ha'apai and Vava'u parents. The percentage loss is likely to involve
 these last two groups. With one foot, so to speak, already in Tongatapu
 some decided to remain or return there.

A comparison of the population structures of Ha'apai, Vava'u with
 the migrant populations from these islands residing in Tongatapu in
 1966 is provided by Figure 1. Both Vava'u and Ha'apai were under-
 represented in the secondary school and working age groups; both were
 over-represented in the very young and older age groups; and both had
 a lower proportion of males than the Tongan average (sex ratio Ha'apai
 98.5; Vava'u 102.5). Conversely, the migrant populations from these
 groups living in Tongatapu in 1966 had a marked excess of males (Sex
 ratio Ha'apai 107.5; Vava'u 115.6) and a heavy weighting in the
 secondary school and working age groups. Between 1956 and 1966, the
 number of Vava'u-born in Tongatapu increased by 104 percent and the
 number of Ha'apai-born by 65 percent, and the proportion of these
 migrant populations in the school age group had decreased, from 33 to
 28 percent for Vava'u and 28 to 27 percent for Ha'apai.

The areas most affected by out-movement, therefore, continued to be
 the many islands of Ha'apai and, more significantly, Vava'u. In
 Ha'apai four villages lost population, while all others increased at rates
 less than the national average. In Vava'u a further five off-shore islands
 lost population, the growth noted earlier in north and west 'Uta Vava'u
 was not sustained, a third of the villages in Vava'u lost population, and
 only two increased at a rate equal to the national average.

The areas of Tonga most affected by in-movement were Niuafo'ou;
 'Eua, where land availability and its proximity to the markets of
 Tongatapu now counterbalanced some of its earlier limitations; and
 Tongatapu itself. The three areas in Tongatapu still most affected
 were: the eastern district with the lowest population density; the east-
 central district close to residential secondary schools, where certain
 nobles have made land available and where there is a tradition of in-
 movement from Ha'apai; and Nuku'alofa and its environs.

[36] This last mentioned movement, to Nuku'alofa has special significance,
 for it introduces a new element, urbanisation, into the history of Tongan

161 population movement and the rapidity and extent of its growth since
 162 1956 are likely to have important consequences which will bear
 166 heavily on traditional political, social and economic customs and
 361 practices throughout the kingdom. Until the mid-1950s, population
 movement was more especially to rural Tongatapu rather than to
 Nuku'alofa. Thus during this period (1931-56) Nuku'alofa's annual
 growth rate (5.2 percent) was less than that of rural Tongatapu
 (6.3 percent), but since then the growth rate of Nuku'alofa (7.4 per-
 cent) has exceeded that of rural Tongatapu (5.3 percent). The most
 urban part of the town, Kolofou, grew at an even faster rate (8.6
 percent) while nearby Havelu Loto, the centre of the only sizeable in-
 dustry on the island,¹⁷ grew at the fantastic annual rate of 35.7 percent
 between 1956 and 1966. Where village growth exceeded or nearly
 approximated that of Nuku'alofa, it was either in very small villages,
 where an influx of a handful of settlers would give apparently spectacular
 increases, or in settlements to the centre and east of the island for
 reasons noted above. In 1956 Nuku'alofa contained 29 percent of
 Tongatapu's population and 16 percent of that of the kingdom; in
 1966 these percentages had risen to 33 and 20 respectively.¹⁸ This
 demonstrates both the increasing importance of Nuku'alofa in terms
 of total population and the marked tendency for population movement
 to Tongatapu to be urban-orientated.

[554] Factors *pushing* people out of the outer islands and *pulling* them
 [511] towards Tongatapu and Nuku'alofa are: the greater opportunities for
 [505] social mobility in recent years: the changing economic needs of the
 [207] average Tongan; easier transport between islands; and, more recently,
 [447] the advertising (over the Tongan radio) of the attractions of Nuku'alofa;
 [423] overpopulation; land tied up in title disputes and in other ways kept
 [435] back from distribution; the low price for copra; two hurricanes in the
 [132] northern islands in 1961 and 1963; and the decimation of the banana-
 [245] by black leaf streak and other diseases in Vava'u. If one single cause
 can sum up these various and interrelated factors, it is the need for
 money.¹⁹

It is not possible to know which islands and villages have recently
 contributed most to Nuku'alofa's growth, for the 1966 census contained
 [127] no special statistics on towns. The following remarks, therefore, are
 [101] based mainly on information extracted from the 1956 census sorting

[655]¹⁷ Quasi-government industries producing coconut by-products and furniture.

¹⁸ Of the other two towns, Neiafu contained 23 percent of the Vava'u population
 in 1956 and 26 percent in 1966; the respective figures for Pangai-Hihifo
 were 28 and 25 percent. Neiafu grew at an annual rate of 2.5 percent;
 Pangai-Hihifo lost population (-0.5 percent p.a.)

¹⁹ Walsh (1964): 179-197 discusses migrants' reasons for moving to Nuku'alofa.
 Some implications of these factors are discussed below. See 'Mobility and
 Economic Development.'

- 161 Another significant area within Tongatapu from which migration to Nuku'alofa occurred was Mu'a, the next largest town on the island.
- 162 It accounted for over half of the migrants from the mid-eastern district.
- 166 This gave rise to the hypothesis that there appeared to be some correlation between town size and migration to Nuku'alofa. This was supported in the case of most Tongatapu settlements, in Ha'apai where Pangai-Hihifo accounted for nearly one-third of all migrants from Ha'apai, and Neiafu which accounted for 41 percent of migrants from Vava'u. These figures were in excess of their share of the population of their respective groups. Migration to Nuku'alofa appeared more significant from the larger towns, while migration from the smaller settlements appeared more rurally orientated.

Although the larger towns were generally not the most affected by out-movement there is no evidence of significant 'short distance rural-urban' or 'step' migration towards them such as has been noted of [602] migratory movements elsewhere.²¹ This is understandable when one considers the limited—and declining—attractions of these towns, the ease of transport to Tongatapu, and the Tongan kinship network which [602] ensures a welcome in almost every major island of the kingdom.²² The precise destination of the migrant is usually determined by where he has relations on whom he can depend for shelter, food and often land.²³ If he has no relation in Nuku'alofa he will move to relations in rural Tongatapu, and if later he finds work in Nuku'alofa he may choose not to change his residence because of the short distances involved. It is well to recall the limited size of Tonga when making comparisons with migratory movements in larger countries.

Migration from Ha'apai, as expected, was of greater significance. This group is densely settled, it had the lowest growth rate in the kingdom, migration was more male-dominated, and it had the lowest proportion of children in the school age group. Migration from Ha'apai further demonstrated the importance of traditional, and especially kinship ties in forging a migratory chain. An example of this was Ha'ano, on the island of the same name, which had a very high migration rate. Early contact with Seventh Day missionaries had led to the migration of several families to Nuku'alofa. Several of these, taking advantage of better education gained through contact with the mission, became influential citizens. The significance of education in improving status, and the increased obligations towards one's kin consequent on this improved status, was reflected in the number of fellow villagers who followed upon the initial movement to Nuku'alofa. In the larger Ha'apai islands there was a definite correlation between population density and

²¹ See McGee (1965): 209.

²² As, for example, evidenced by gift exchange. See Walsh (1969b): 97.

²³ Walsh (1969b): 95.

POPULATION CHANGES IN TONGA

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out-movement, but this did not appear to be a factor causing migration to Nuku'alofa as distinct from movement to rural areas in Tongatapu and elsewhere. 161 162 166 361

Migration from Vava'u to Nuku'alofa in 1956 was not especially significant. Population densities were relatively low; the main island is the third largest (33 square miles) in the group, and is quite fertile. There appeared, in 1956, to be no reason why access to land should be difficult. At that date, two-fifths of the migrants came from Neiafu and were children in the school age group. Educational opportunities therefore appeared to be the main goal attracting migrants, whereas land and employment were more clearly the main causes of migration from Ha'apai. Since 1956 the Vava'u pattern has changed considerably, as we have already seen. The main reasons for this would seem to be: government failure to distribute *'api tukuhau* although land is available, the low level of capital invested in the group, banana crop failures and the low price for copra. However, from the figures available, there is no way of knowing whether this new movement has affected the rate of migration to Nuku'alofa, as distinct from the rural areas of Tongatapu. For this, access to the sorting cards of the 1966 census would be necessary.

The accelerated out-movement from Vava'u in the last decade has added further to the economic imbalance among the islands. Out-movement from the tiny, scattered islands of Ha'apai is long-standing, readily understandable in terms of their resources and in economic terms is probably justifiable. Movement of this magnitude from the much larger and more fertile islands of Vava'u (and especially from 'Uta Vava'u) with relatively low population densities and much economic potential appears to have less economic justification in terms of the overall development of Tonga's resources.²⁴

MOBILITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Kirk, among others, has stated that "mobility is an integral part of economic and social development".²⁵ While there can be no doubt that the accelerated movement of population noted in Tonga is a result of economic and social change, such changes do not represent economic development while the rate of movement so far exceeds the rate of economic growth. Parts of rural Tongatapu can still absorb more migrants but the rate of movement cannot be sustained indefinitely without seriously depleting soil fertility, unless there are radical changes in the system of land use and tenure. In the present political climate these appear unlikely. One wonders, also, just how long those at the end 161 162 166

²⁴ See Walsh (1967a) (1967b).

²⁵ Kirk (1958): 16.

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2. Growers suffer from a lack of incentives. One example of this is the low price they are paid—45 percent of that obtained by the Copra Board.
3. A feeling of malaise and neglect by government in the outer islands. They have received directly only about 10 percent of development moneys, yet government needs to be *seen to be active* in this and other ways.
4. A fatalism which assumes that God and Government will eventually provide, which obviates the need for individual action.
5. The panacea of tourism, the discovery of oil and other ventures that are expected to produce Kuwait-type returns. This obviates the need to turn seriously to agriculture.

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In a society where initiative belongs to the chiefs, government is the only significant innovator. As most of the reasons for low production seems to be cultural in origin, cultural solutions are most likely to solve them. This, initially, means a reappraisal of priorities and a reallocation of funds; a close examination of present methods of land use and land tenure; a revised education system which places less stress on academic learning; and the use of radio and other media to 'play-down' the attractions of Nuku'alofa and Tongatapu, for these are often highly exaggerated in the minds of the islands' population. Only direct government intervention can reduce migration to a rate where it more closely approximates economic development.³⁴ And as all of Tonga is a 'backward area' in relation to the countries with which it has economic connections, direct government intervention from these countries is also necessary to stimulate and maintain development. This, basically, requires better trade and shipping conditions and a higher rate of investment, not an increase in aid which in itself is unlikely to stimulate growth.

CONCLUSION

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In summary, population movement is not new in Tonga. While some older patterns, such as dispersed settlement, the full occupancy of the smaller islands adjacent to Tongatapu and 'Uta Vava'u, and the siting of settlements in areas where there is a balance of land and sea resources, appear to have gone or been severely modified, other trends suggest the re-establishment of older patterns—the resettlement of some of the volcanic islands, possibly a more widespread use of the interior of islands, and the pre-eminence of Tongatapu and its capital, Nuku'alofa, which in a limited political sense could be considered the modern counterpart of ancient Mu'a with all its attendant powers of central authority. Other patterns continue—population moves among

³⁴ Cf. Myrdal (1966): Chapters 3, 4.

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islands as a constant readjustment between real and assumed expectations, and movement is still much influenced by social factors concerned with reciprocal obligations of kin, of chief and commoner, of the village, the church, of factors concerned with social cohesion and unity. 161 162 166 361

Some new patterns have emerged. The high southern *liku* coast of Tongatapu is attracting population as other areas become more congested. Many villages have grown beyond the expected optimum size for social cohesion, and some have coalesced.³⁵ It seems likely that new social groupings will cut across the village and possibly undermine kin groupings which, to date, have eased problems often associated with population increase and movement elsewhere. Many of the factors influencing population movement are new, the two most obvious and important being education; which permits social mobility in a society still noted for its rigid stratification, and money, the wherewithal to achieve many new expectations, and increasingly a necessity for even the most isolated islander. Nuku'alofa is no longer a village; it has many of the characteristics of a town, and its rapid growth, its problems and attempted solutions tally with patterns of urbanisation in other parts of the Pacific. Moreover, the pace and direction of movement—to Nuku'alofa and Tongatapu—have prompted government development policies which have further exaggerated the economic imbalance among islands, leaving Vava'u with land tied up in title disputes and Tongatapu overflowing with people who have migrated in anticipation of opportunities which must often exclude the legal occupancy of land. 178 179 166 179 361

Traditional attitudes to kin, rank and land have helped Tonga to meet the problems associated with population growth and movement with little social distress. This is true of the past, it is still true today, but it is not certain that it will be true of the future. 178

³⁵ Spillius (1959) considers the question of optimum village size. There were 13 settlements with over a thousand population in 1966. These accounted for 46.3 percent of the total population.

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SHIFTING CULTIVATION AND POPULATION GROWTH IN TONGA

by

ALARIC MAUDE

The relationship between population growth and agricultural systems has been a central question in some of the recent geographical work in the Pacific Islands (e.g. Brookfield, 1962; Clarke, 1966; Lea, 1965). This paper seeks to contribute to this body of research through a study of the effect of population growth on the agricultural system of Tonga, an island group which in common with a number of other South Pacific territories has experienced rapid rates of population increase in recent decades. The study also attempts to assess the extent to which the arguments of Ester Boserup on the relationship between agriculture and population growth can be usefully applied to the process of agricultural change in Tonga. Boserup's thesis (Boserup, 1965) essentially is that the intensification of traditional agricultural systems from long fallow to short fallow to multi-cropping occurs only when forced by population pressure, because such intensification involves an increase in labour input and a decrease in output per man-hour. She therefore regards the agricultural system as the dependent variable in the relationship between population and agriculture, and explains differences in cultivation systems as the result of differences in population densities. [121] [161]

THE AGRICULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

The chain of some 150 islands in Western Polynesia which forms the Kingdom of Tonga has a total land area of 256 square miles and supports a population of about 81,000 (1968). The economy is overwhelmingly agricultural, and is based largely on subsistence food cropping and the export of bananas, copra and desiccated coconut. Over 90 per cent of Tongans live in the three main groups of Tongatapu, Ha'apai and Vava'u (Fig. 1), where almost all the islands are of raised limestone formation. The climatic variable of greatest agricultural significance is rainfall, which increases from a mean of 67 inches at Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) to [131] [161] 433 439 361 133 132

[p. 57-A]

43: Maude K-4,5 (1962) 1970
OU9 Tonga OU9

70 inches at Pangai (Ha'apai) and 86 inches at Nainu (Vava'u). December to March tend to be the

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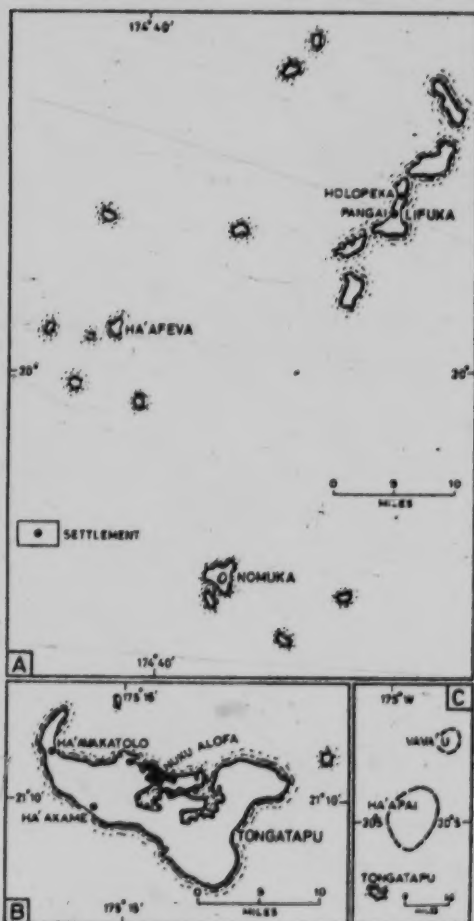


Fig. 1. The islands and settlements of Tonga

A. The Ha'apai group

B. Tongatapu

C. The relative location of the main island groups.

[p. 57-B]

cannot be explained by variations in land quality. Climatic and soil conditions in Ha'apai do not seem dissimilar to those in Tongatapu, although in Ha'apai the less valuable *tou'one* soil type occupies a greater proportion of the total land area than in Tongatapu; neither is there any evidence to suggest that land in western Tongatapu is inherently more productive than land in eastern Tongatapu. The main explanation appears to lie in the relationship between settlement and marine resources. Seafoods have always been valued items in the Tongan diet, although fishing and reef-collecting have declined in recent years as canned meat and fish have become more easily obtainable. Village settlement therefore tended to concentrate where there was a good balance between the resources of the land and the sea. Where shores and reefs were productive but the land area limited, as in the small islands of Ha'apai and the narrow western point of Tongatapu, population densities were higher than where productive shores were backed by more extensive land areas, as in central and eastern Tongatapu, or where unproductive shores limited village settlement, as along part of the south coast of Tongatapu. The population growth of the present century has quickly brought problems of land shortage to the former areas.

THE AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM

The basis of present Tongan agriculture is a bush fallowing system for the cultivation of tubers, the term *bush fallowing* being used to denote a form of shifting cultivation in which the fallow period is short (Morgan, 1959; Watters, 1960.)

The agricultural cycle begins with the selection of a plot for clearing, burning and planting, the selection being based on the requirements of the crop to be grown and the land available to the gardener. Tongans judge land by the type of soil, by the growth of vegetation and by their previous experience in cropping, but because of land shortage and the system of land tenure the area available to choose from is limited, despite the common practice of borrowing the use of land. Where the soil is considered to be sufficiently fertile a yam patch (*ma'ala*) begins the cropping sequence, and most

MACHIKO AOYAGI



FIG.1 SKETCH MAP OF NUKULEKA

1-34 HOUSEHOLD NUMBERS
45-28 LIVES IN THE BUSH NEAR THE VILLAGE

PALEKALU

EUROPEAN STYLE HOUSE
TRADITIONAL TONGA STYLE HOUSE
SEMI-TRADITIONAL TONGA STYLE HOUSE
FUTU HOUSE
PALEKALU OR PALEKALU

PALEKALU

MADE OF WOOD OR CEMENT
MADE OF COCONUT LEAVES
PALEKALU
OTHER BUILDINGS
COCONUT ORCHARD
RETAIL STORE
WELL WATER

As is shown in the table, the two generation household is the dominant style. Out of 33 households, 28 consist of one married couple, 4, two married couples and one has no married pair. This last household consists of the town officer with one of his sons. His wife and small children live at Mu'aa where he received another *api tukuhau* recently. He intends to go back to Mu'a to join his family after retiring. Three out of the four households with two couples living together consist of couples of parents and children and the other a pair of married brothers.

From the fact that the large majority of the households include two generations and one married couple, it can be inferred that the household is formed primarily on the basis of the nuclear family. In fact, 21 households respectively are nuclear families and the rest include additional members. The households may be classified roughly into four groups on the basis of the sort of kin that they contain:

- | | | |
|--|-------|----|
| A. 21 households that contain only a nuclear family | | |
| a man, his wife and children (including adopted ones) | ..... | 19 |
| a man and his wife | ..... | 1 |
| a man and his son | ..... | 1 |
| B. 8 households that contain a nuclear family plus additional | | |
| kinsfolk of male side | | |
| A plus husband's mother | ..... | 2 |
| A plus husband's father and sister | ..... | 1 |
| A plus husband's brothers | ..... | 1 |
| A plus husband's brother and his wife with children | ..... | 1 |
| A plus son and his wife with children | ..... | 2 |
| A plus a boy who is remotely related to husband | ..... | 1 |
| C. 3 households that contain a nuclear family plus additional | | |
| kinsfolk of female side | | |
| A plus daughter and her husband with children | ..... | 1 |
| A plus daughter who is divorced and her daughter | ..... | 1 |
| A plus wife's mother and a boy who is remotely related to wife | ..... | 1 |

182 sense to me. And, as time went by, I learned that besides
621 switching denominational affiliation, people may shift
their household membership, their kin-group affiliation,
and their membership in various other local groups.

182 If one approaches the Tongan data with assumptions
621 of cognitive homogeneity and behavioral sharing, the
121 variability of local organization at the local level
makes Tongan society appear to be in a formless state of
continual flux. Besides this, another preconception that
may be brought to the Tongan data and may contribute to
the appearance of formlessness is the assumption that in
a rural agricultural setting there is a recognizable local
community. It should be noted, however, that throughout
the dissertation I speak of 'local organization' rather
[36] than 'village organization'. This is because the village
is not a significant unit of organization in Tongan
society. The question of 'what is a community?' and
whether the locale of the anthropologist's investigation
is properly called a community crops up repeatedly,
particularly in urban studies (Epstein 1964a, Mitchell
1969, Leeds 1973). Nevertheless, one still encounters the
assumption that a village, viewed as a social unit, is a
residentially-based grouping of persons, the aggregate of
whose multiplex relationships is such that the village

of social stratification that appears to be emerging in
Tonga (Maude 1971; Marcus 1975b, 1976). The study of this
wider system was beyond the scope of my investigation.

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Variability Among Villages

The ethnographic data presented in this dissertation
were collected mainly among the people of Motulahi, a
village on Tongatapu. It might be asked whether Motulahi
is a typical village. However, the notion of a typical
village (which is generally of dubious ethnological
validity) has no application to Tonga, for there is
considerable diversity among Tongan villages with respect
to a number of important variables. For example, there
are significant differences between isolated village-islands
on the one hand and villages on the relatively large island
of Tongatapu on the other, or between a village on Tongatapu
less than a mile from Nuku'alofa and another at the far end
of the island. Villages in Tonga also differ considerably
with respect to size of population, from less than one
hundred people to more than one thousand, and the dimension
of village size cuts across the dimension of location.
There are also differences among villages with respect to
ecological setting, demographic pressures, diversity of
income-producing activities, and the number of local
congregations and other community organizations. Other
variables include such factors as whether the village is

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that had fewer than three hundred people.) Furthermore, the factor of size of population may be of only minor significance. Admittedly, there is likely to be more heterogeneity in large villages, simply as a function of their having more people. However, accounts of villages that have fewer than three hundred people suggest that the structure of these villages and their relation to other units of structure may be very similar to that of Motulahi (Aoyagi 1966, Beaglehole 1941, Morton 1972). And even in these small villages there may be considerably diversity.

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While Motulahi is not necessarily very different from smaller villages, it may be significantly different from villages that are remote from urban influences. While it is in no sense a suburb of Nuku'alofa, there is very easy access to town via the many buses and trucks which ply the main roads that run east and west on Tongatapu and converge on Nuku'alofa. On the other hand, there is fairly easy access to town from virtually all the villages on Tongatapu (see Map 3). The same is largely true on the island of Vava'u, although public transportation is less well developed there. The contrast in this respect, therefore, is with the isolated village-islands elsewhere in Tonga. There is fairly easy small-boat sailing within the island clusters in good weather, but the weather is not always good. Larger vessels appear only at irregular and

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46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

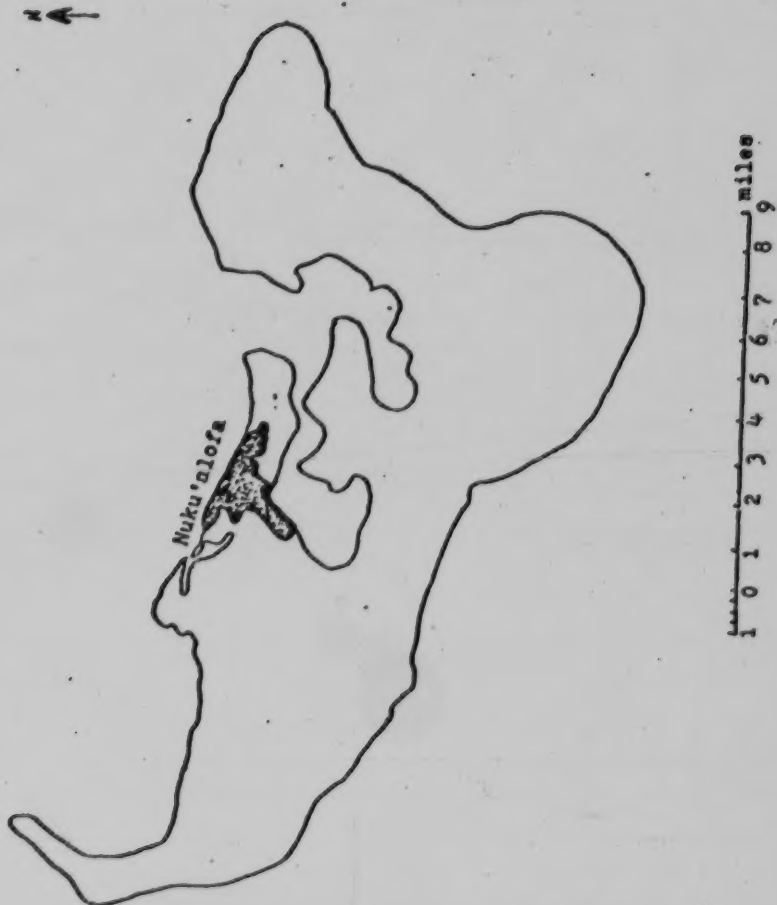
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MAP 3

Tongatapu Island

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Source: Adaptation of end-map in the Program for the Visit
of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II . . . 1970
(Government of Tonga 1970b).

unpredictable intervals, leaving these islands isolated for many weeks at a time and their people more independent of money and markets than people living on the bigger islands. At the time of the census of 1966 there were 27 islands that had a population of less than one thousand people; these islands comprised just under 10% of the total population of Tonga. Although I was not in a position to investigate it, these village-islands may be different in their political structure from villages that are not isolated from urban centers and from other villages. Certainly, the look of these village-islands reflects a simpler material standard of living than villages on Tongatapu, and this is related to the fact that there is less involvement in the cash economy. It should be noted, however, that the village is probably not a significant unit of variation with respect to the degree of conservativeness of the people living there, for--as we shall see in later chapters--villages as such are not significant units of organization. In this regard it is interesting to note that Belshaw makes a similar point about villages in Fiji:

However important the village is in sentiment and ceremony, and however conservative Fijians may be with respect to the varieties of cultural expression reflected in villages, villages themselves are not the basis of social or economic variation. The notion that this village is progressive, whereas that is conservative, is too simple an explanation of differences in adjustment that may be evident (1964: 35).

CHAPTER III

THE PEOPLE OF MOTULAH

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178 Villages in Tonga are the cumulative product of historic events and subsequent individual and group adaptations. Thus, compact settlements came about during the period of civil war, and then the separation between kolo (town) and 'uta (bush) became standardized through legislation. Other features that make up the look of Tongan villages, such as the relative proximity of the houses, are the result of ongoing processes of population growth and increasing pressure on land resources.

121 As we have seen in the preceding chapter, there may be some danger in generalizing from the village of Motulahi to other villages. Nevertheless, data on local organization collected in Motulahi are not representative only of the people of Motulahi. Goodenough points out that "the same cultural principles can produce statistically different outputs in different circumstances" (1970: 57). In presenting data from Motulahi, my aim is to show how Tongan cultural principles have shaped the way in which people now living in Motulahi have dealt with the circumstances in which they found themselves.

The chapter first describes the layout and look of the village, followed by an account of the history of settlement at Motulahi and a brief demographic description of the people resident in the village at the time of my fieldwork. It will be seen that the effects of increasing population and inter-island migration have been marked in Motulahi for more than thirty years and have contributed to the diversity of the present population. Materials presented in this chapter also illustrate something of the possible range of variation in the relationship between a Tongan noble and his people, particularly as this relationship is affected by population pressure and other developments in Tonga over the past few decades.¹

The Look of the Village

Motulahi is located about six miles from Nuku'alofa. The residential part of the village lies on either side of a mile-long section of the main road running from town towards the eastern end of the island. Immediately to the north is the marshy area that borders the lagoon, while on the other side agricultural allotments run about a mile and a half to the sea (see Map 4). As in all Tongan villages, kolo (the residential part of the village) is distinct from 'uta (the land divided into agricultural allotments). In

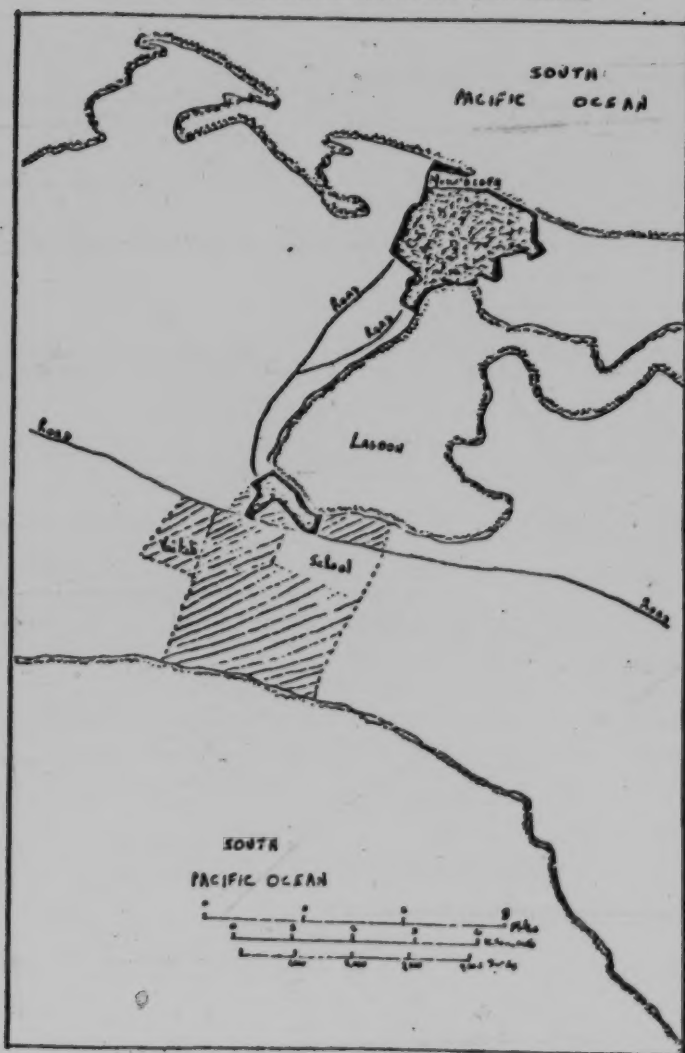
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 66]

¹ For further description of relations between a noble and his people, see Marcus (1976) and Rogers (1968).

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
 Tongatapu
 Motulahi

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MAP 4. Central Section of Tongatapu



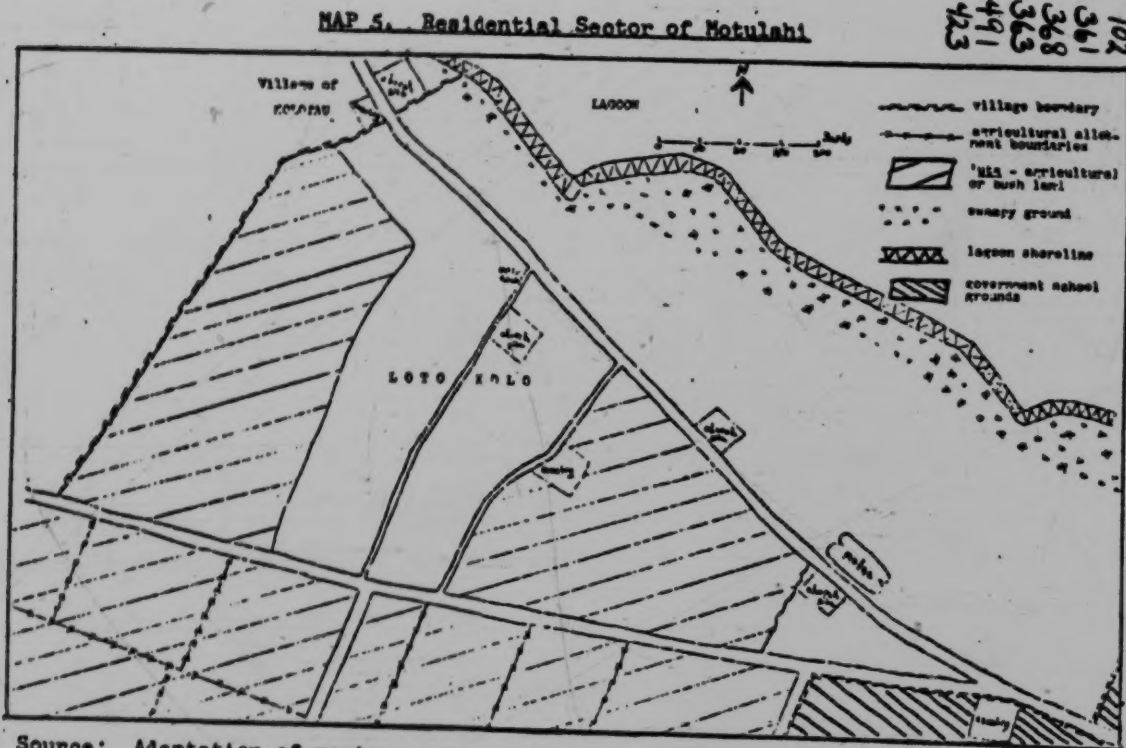
102
 361
 491
 133
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Source: Adaptation of a map of Tongatapu supplied by
 the Tonga Department of Lands and Surveys.

- 361 Motulahi, 'uta covers an area of about one thousand acres and kolo is about one hundred acres. The description that follows refers to the residential sector of the village, unless otherwise noted.

The eastern part of Motulahi has been settled only [368] during the past twenty-five years. On this side, the village ends abruptly at the fenced enclosures of two schools, one on each side of the road (see Map 5). In the western part of the village there has been continuous settlement for a number of generations. This part of the village is known as loto kolo (the center of the village). Here the houses extend to the boundary with the neighboring village of Kolotau. Houses in Kolotau also come right up to the boundary, and where one village ends and the other begins is not apparent to the casual observer.

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[659] Motulahi was surveyed in the early 1960s and 152 residential allotments were demarcated. All of these allotments (known as 'adi, short for 'api kolo, 'town allotment') were already allocated, and all but twelve were [659] occupied during the period of my fieldwork. In loto kolo the survey confirmed the boundaries of existing house plots, some of which have been registered with the Department of Lands since the 1920s. These lots are irregularly shaped and most are larger, although a few are smaller, than the statutory size of 1 rood and 24 perches (2/5 of an acre). On the lagoon side of the road, however, all but



Source: Adaptation of various maps supplied by the Tonga Department of Lands and Surveys, supplemented by fieldwork observations.

- 361 the most westerly lots are of rectangular shape and
423 statutory size.

On either side of loto kolo are two large areas of partly-cultivated bush land, each comprising about 26 acres.

- 361 Each of these tracts is associated with the title of a
423 petty chief; one title is Paluvalevale, the other is
565 Mafua.² The titles originated with the men who were first given the land, about one hundred years ago. Paluvalevale was the son of the noble of Motulahi by one of his lesser wives, and Mafua was one of the noble's ceremonial attendants or matāpule. Today, each title is held by a descendant of the original title-holder. They and their families control the land and use it for their own benefit, collecting coconuts for making copra and using small areas within the tract for the cultivation of root crops.

- 361 These green tracts in the middle of the village give
423 Motulahi a misleadingly rustic and under-populated appearance. The green vista unfolds as one walks along the curving main road, complementing the coconut palms and trees and other greenery that is dotted about the landscape of the village. The tracts have not been divided into 8½-acre agricultural allotments since the land is intended for

2 Explication of the system of titles is beyond the scope of this dissertation, for the system is essentially a national-level phenomenon. Bott (1972), Coult (1959), Kaeppler (1971), and Marcus (1975b) have useful articles on this topic, and I have written on the subject of the local operation of the Tongan system of titles (Decktor Korn 1976).

● 361 residential use, but it cannot be allocated for residential
423 purposes because it has not yet been surveyed and divided
into town allotments. A brother of one of the present
title-holders has repeatedly bragged that he would cut up
the man who cuts up his land, and the noble has avoided
the risk of precipitating a crisis by not calling in the
Department of Lands to make its survey. There is beginning
to be a shortage of residential land in Motulahī, however,
and already a number of town allotments are occupied by
more than one household.

351 Town allotments present a decidedly non-uniform
appearance. Besides whatever vegetation there may be on
the 'api, each household has a number of different-looking
[342] structures. First, there is the main house, comprising
343 living and sleeping quarters. Then there is the beito, an
351 open-sided lean-to adjacent to the house or a few feet
[514] away, which serves as a kitchen or cook-house. Somewhat
[515] further away from the main house there is a small enclosure
over a pit-latrine (fale mālōlō) and another enclosure,
[53] usually open-roofed, used for bathing (fale kaukau). In
some cases, there are other structures as well, providing
additional sleeping space. And there may also be an
enclosure in which small animals such as chickens and pigs
351 are penned. Besides these structures, each 'api usually
[296] has a line or two of colorful laundry, and during the day
there may be mats and bedding spread out to air. The look

of an 'api is further enlivened by the children and young 351
people, who spend much of the time outside during the day.

Besides a lively appearance, there is generally a 512
lively (although not noisy) daytime sound in the village.
In the mornings, while children are at school, one hears [287]
the rhythmic tones of wood striking wood as women beat the
bark of the paper mulberry, making tapa cloth. And in the [526]
afternoons there are shouts of excitement as the young
people play basketball. In the late afternoon, the sound [533]
of unaccompanied singing can be heard from one or other of [794]
the churches. But after about nine in the evening, most [574]
people are indoors, at home or visiting neighbors, and
village sounds are muted.

The boundaries of a number of 'api are marked by a 351
fence, whose main purpose is not to serve as a boundary 417
marker but to keep own livestock in and other livestock
out. Fences, therefore, are intended to be sturdy and are
made of wooden palings or of chicken wire. Some of those
close to the main road, which serve decorative as well as
protective purposes, are ornamented by shrubbery. Houses 351
along the main road have a preferred position, providing 361
ease of access, the opportunity for display, and convenience [554]
in monitoring the comings and goings of others. Houses [487]
further back are reached by narrow trails along which one
must pick one's way with care, or by wider unpaved paths
that soon become muddy bogs when it rains.

Coolantern or a Coleman lamp.

361 In addition to town allotments, the residential
362 sector of the village includes three churches, a government-
312 owned concrete water tank for collecting rainwater, and a
malae or 'village green'. The malae is the large open
366 space between the noble's house and the main road. Except
368 for the churches, the only non-residential structures in
743 the village are six privately-owned shops (each set on a
corner of the owner's 'api), four privately-owned sheds,
and an open-sided thatched structure at the side of the
malae, which serves as a Baby Clinic when the visiting
871 nurse makes her bi-weekly visit. Motulahi is also served
764 by four schools and three burial sites or cemeteries, all
368 of which lie adjacent to or near the boundary of the
366 residential sector. In its lack of offices or coffee-shops,
368 Motulahi is typical of Tongan villages. The many churches
and nearby schools are also typical.

History of Settlement at Motulahi

128 The following data, which portray the history of
121 settlement at Motulahi, serve to flesh out the national
statistics relating to processes of migration to Tongatapu.
These materials also indicate something of the operation
of the system of land tenure and particularly how operation
of the system is an integral part of the relationship
between the tofia owner and the people of his village.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

73

361
569 Motulahi forms a major part of the tofia associated with the noble title Haveatungua, one of the most ancient and high-ranking titles in the land. Since the village is favorably located in the middle part of Tongatapu, where the distance between the lagoon shore and the sea coast is at its narrowest, it is probable that the area has been [172] settled since quite ancient times. Burial sites excavated in the neighborhood of the village have yielded a Carbon-14 determination of 700 +/-200 years before 1950 (Davidson 1969).

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797 A settlement at Motulahi is mentioned by the early Christian missionaries who were in Tonga at the end of the [172] eighteenth century. Then there is little mention of 175 Motulahi in nineteenth century missionary writings. During 361 the civil war, Motulahi was overshadowed by the nearby 669 settlement of Kolotau, which was one of the centers of rebel activity during the final period of the civil war and was the last stronghold to be subdued by Tāufa'āhau. According to several people whose families have been longest at Motulahi, the people of the area who favored the rebels lived in the fortress of Kolotau during the fighting. It is not clear who these people were, although the names of 175 some of their leaders are known. None of the families that 361 have been longest in Motulahi have any tradition of 565 residence at Motulahi before the civil war, and the seat of

175 the Haveatungua is traditionally linked with the island of
361
[56] Tunhua, which is part of the noble's estate in Ha'apai.

Thus it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the present settlement of the village can be said to have begun.

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[119] Shortly before the turn of the century, according to both Fatafehi and Hufangalupe, two old people (a man and a woman, not related) who were living in Motulahi at that time and who are reputed to manatu lelei (remember well), the village comprised a total of fewer than ten households. Today, out of a total of 145 households, 75 households in the village are headed by descendants of those few households. There were still only ten households in Motulahi in 1919, according to Pulotu, a third informant, who had moved to Motulahi in that year as a newly-married young man seeking land. It is not clear how many people this included, as households were reckoned by each of the three informants mainly by reference to the names of the heads of the households. However, the three lists of names are in substantial agreement if we allow for certain
[127] accountable changes between 1900 and 1919. Twelve years later, in 1931, according to a police census taken that year (Wood 1932), there were 159 people living in Motulahi. This probably means no fewer than fifteen nor more than thirty households in 1931.

At the time of the census of 1956, however, there
361
621 were 147 households, and Motulahi was then one of only
three villages in the whole of Tonga with a population of
more than one thousand. This growth is remarkable, not-
withstanding the overall growth of Tonga's population
during the same period and the general movement to
Tongatapu, for these are but a fraction of the rate of
increase in Motulahi.

622
621 The growth of Motulahi's population can be accounted
for in large part by reference to the policies and
practices of Sione Fatu, who was Haveatungua from 1916 to
1962. Sione Fatu succeeded his father at about the age of
[597] sixteen. His three younger brothers were adopted by his
[484] father's sister and lived with her in Vava'u and Nuku'alofa,
but Sione Fatu was sent abroad to be educated at a grammar
[605] school in Australia. During that period and for some years
after that he was represented in Motulahi by Finau, who was
the son of one of his father's sisters. (It was Finau who
gave Pulothu permission to settle in Motulahi in 1919). It
is not clear for how long Finau was in charge of Motulahi
nor the nature and extent of his authority. Some informants
speak more of the power of the petty chief Paluvalevale.
It is said that Paluvalevale gave some people permission to
farm on his land until they were granted land of their own,
whereas Finau acted only as an agent for the noble.

While it was not until the early 1940s that Sione

621 in Tonga, which is probably different from other territo-
ries, is that the villages are not self-contained governing
175 units, and never have been" (Spillius 1959b: 3). Before
361 the nineteenth century, people lived in isolated homesteads
621 under the immediate authority of the head of the local
622 descent group (see Decktor Korn 1976). During the period
of the civil war, they came to live together for protection
in fortified villages under the leadership of warrior
chiefs.³ The historical evidence presented by Lātūkefu
(1974) suggests that then, as now, the strongest single
force binding the members of the village together was their
allegiance to their chief, with only a few elements of
concerted action under his leadership.

621 As we saw in the preceding chapters, local activities
612 are generally not organized on a village basis per se. For
example the localized kin group known as the fāmili is
not essentially a village-based group. Admittedly, people
of different villages seldom belong to the same fāmili,
hence the fāmili appears to be village-based, but the
reason why members of a fāmili tend to be people who live
in the same village is because of the nature of the obliga-
tions of fāmili membership. These obligations tend to
require interaction at a level that is difficult to sustain

3 Walsh (1970) discusses the evolution of the Tongan settlement pattern.

12/ feature characteristic of these societies is the optative and changeable nature of the composition of household groups.

Fluctuating patterns of household composition have received less attention than other features that are characteristic of Oceanic societies. Usually they are discussed within the context of studies of land-holding groups, and they have generally been treated either as a secondary aspect of ecological adaptation or as a by-product of the flexibility of social organization in these societies. Studies that focus on actual settlement patterns, however, are more actor-oriented than are studies of land-holding groups. This different focus directs attention to what I take to be a lack of conceptual clarity in the use of such terms as "option" and "choice" in discussing the diverse behavior of different people in a society. This problem emerges in the final section of the paper, where I consider the meaning of the data that are presented here.

VARIATIONS IN HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

10/ Tonga, a country of about 150 islands, lies east of Fiji and south of
[131] Samoa. (It is also known as the "Friendly Islands"—a name given by
[115] Captain Cook, who visited Tonga in the course of his voyages of 1773-74
[162] and 1777.¹) About 40 of the islands are inhabited, with a total
[161] population in 1970 of more than 80,000; three-fifths of the people live
[131] on the main island of Tongatapu. The total land area of the country is
about 256 square miles, two-fifths of which is Tongatapu.

36/ Although there are only four centers of administration and com-
162 merce in which social differentiation is such that they can properly be
called "towns," about one-third of the total population is clustered in
these areas (two are on Tongatapu). The remaining population lives in
villages that are dotted throughout the islands in a nuclear pattern of
village settlement; this settlement pattern is largely the result of
practices established during a period of civil war that lasted from 1797
[43] until the mid-1800's. Most of the people who live in the rural areas and
many of those who live in the towns are wholly or partially dependent
for their livelihoods on peasant agriculture.

59/ There is no consensus among Tongans on what composition
[82] constitutes the ideal household, but all adults would agree that the ideal
household is one in which I, the speaker, am the head. Most Tongans
would probably say that a household ordinarily comprises a single
family unit consisting of a married couple and their unmarried
children. Not all households conform to this pattern, however. In fact,

[177] 1 Tonga was first visited by Europeans in 1616, but sustained contact with Europeans did
[77] not begin until almost the end of the 18th century. Despite considerable European intervention
[48] since then, including the Christianization of the entire population before the end of the 19th
century, Tonga has remained formally independent. In 1970, the Kingdom of Tonga joined the
British Commonwealth of Nations.

REPORT ON THE RESULTS OF THE 1966 CENSUS

000 would be more likely to succeed on government than on noble estates,
245 and only, of course, in areas where land is available for lease. There is
474 evidence in Tongatapu that some banana-producing cooperatives have
achieved success by using vacant land and employing tractors.

166 A third alternative for landless men is migration, and the 1966 census
shows in a number of ways that "... the Tongan population has become
mobile, both internally and externally ... the drift of young people from
the atolls of Ha'apai especially and rural areas of Tongatapu to Nuku'alofa
is probably indicative of this trend" (p. 11).

361 Tonga now has thirteen towns and villages each with a population of
more than one thousand people; nine of these are situated on Tongatapu
island whereas the Ha'apai and Vava'u groups contain only two each.
361 These thirteen towns and villages showed a combined percentage increase
161 of population of 48.3% during the intercensal period, although the two
369 Ha'apai towns combined actually lost population over this period.
Population growth in the nine Tongatapu towns and villages ranged
from 34.0% to nearly 357.0% (Haveluloto) for the decade from 1956;
Nuku'alofa and suburbs (historically three villages) increased over the
same period by 6,483 persons (by 70.0%) to a total of 15,685.

162 Nearly 32.0% of all persons over sixteen living in Tongatapu on the
161 night of the census were born in other parts of the Kingdom, with 14.4%
166 deriving from Ha'apai and 11.4% from the Vava'u group. Some of these
people living away from the place where they were born were undoubtedly
students and temporary residents from the northern islands, but differential
rates of increase for Tongatapu (53.2% during the intercensal period) and
the Ha'apai group (6.78%) suggest that there is a higher rate of internal
migration than could be explained simply by students and visitors. Walsh
has described the process whereby temporary immigrants become per-
manent residents.⁽¹²⁾

Some imbalance between the sexes is apparent in Tongatapu's excess
of males "born elsewhere" over females "born elsewhere". Supporting
the argument that many of Tongatapu's immigrants derive from Ha'apai,
is the evidence that there is a shortage of males in that group; there are
only 491 males per 1,000 persons in the Ha'apai district—the only deviation
from the national pattern of male predominance.

582 The average age for marriage has increased since 1956 when over 3.0%
of all men and over 9.0% of all women were married in the fifteen to
nineteen age-group. The 1966 returns indicate that only about 1.0% of
the total male population and just over 7.0% of the total female population
in this cohort were married. It is possible that some of the reasons for
this delay in marriage are the shortage of land in rural areas, the excess
of men in urban areas, the increasing cost of traditional weddings, the
shortage of and desire for wage employment and money, and the enor-
mous advantage post-primary education gives to obtaining wage employ-
ment.

12. Walsh 1967:14.

643 of his sons, the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The first two royal lines lost status as
175 successive Tu'i Kanokupolu increased their power. Finally, after a period
of civil wars during which the Tu'i Tonga and various allied factions of
643 chiefs were defeated in 1852, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, George Tupou I,
(642) united all three island groups of Tonga under his rule. The consolidation
797 of power under Tupou I coincided with his conversion to the Wesleyan
648 Church and his alliance with foreign missionaries. Tupou I, with the aid
of his European Prime Minister, Shirley Baker, a former Wesleyan mission-
ary, instituted a number of important reforms (see Rutherford, 1971).
The following transformations have occurred in Tonga during and since
the rise of the dynasty of Tupou I:

178 1. Before the nineteenth century, Tonga's population was dispersed on
361 the land of the various islands. Only in the first part of the nineteenth
century did the present pattern of nucleated village settlement emerge,
resulting largely from mission influence and the need for protection
during the civil wars (Maude, 1965, p. 61).

178 2. The reforms of Tupou I culminated in the Constitution of 1875
642 which transformed the traditional feudal political system of Tonga into
[565] a constitutional monarchy on the English model. In contemporary Tonga,
the nobility still occupies most of the positions of authority in both the
co-existing traditional and Western political systems.

178 3. The end of the period of violence and the reforms of Tupou I con-
565 siderably limited the powers and prerogatives of chiefs in the traditional
423 social system. Formerly, the Tu'i Tonga bestowed chiefly titles and grants
of land upon individuals who had extensive powers to dispose of the land
and its inhabitants as they wished. The title of noble was created by the
Constitution of 1875, and Tupou I chose a number of both his prominent
supporters and opponents to hold titles. Noble titles are associated with
legally recognized hereditary estates or *tofi'a*. The remainder of the
former chiefs maintained and passed on their titles, but were reduced to
178 small landholders just as commoners. In modern Tonga, chiefs without
565 *tofi'a* have only ceremonial status and are otherwise indistinguishable
from commoners in terms of class rank. Thus, the reforms of Tupou I
essentially froze the boundaries of the class system, not only limiting the
possibility of an individual becoming titled, but also limiting the preroga-
tives and powers that chiefly titles formerly carried with them. There
were 33 noble titles in Tonga in 1965, but only 29 actual title-holders,
since two men held two titles each and the remaining titles were held

621 them; (5) those located on government estates without a connection to
565 particular nobles as landlords; and (6) large towns, composed of merged
423 villages, presently independent of particular noble affiliations.

621 Tongans on government estates maintain connections with particular
565 nobles through historical associations originated before the rise of the
423 present dynasty and through the presence in residence of a *matāpule* or
[361] a representative of a particular noble. Most contemporary villages are
[646] included within types 2 and 4, since the majority of Tongan nobles spend
[647] most of the year in or near the capital, Nuku'alofa, because of the con-
[101] veniences it offers, and in some cases because of government service,
especially as Ministers and Members of Parliament. The village of 'Uiha,
in which most of my data were collected, is included within type 2 above.*

Noble-Commoner Relations

621 The changes in status that are associated with an individual's succession
565 to a noble title reveal much about the nature of class relationships within
Tongan villages. As in inheritance of *'api tukuhau*, succession to a noble
title is by primogeniture. In effect, the noble class of Tonga is composed
only of the noble title-holders and their families of procreation. Yet, on
the village level, class distinctions are highly ritualized and clearly visible
only in interactions between the actual person of the title-holder and the
rest of the individuals of the community. No special deference behavior
is exhibited in interactions between commoners and close kinsmen of the
title-holder (including even those kinsmen who technically outrank the
title-holder such as his sisters) or between commoners and holders of
matāpule and *'eiki* titles which confer honor but no special rights or
privileges, except in the ritual associated with kava-drinking.

621 The significance of one's genealogical closeness to a noble title-holder
565 is a highly variable matter in modern Tonga as a determinant of personal
554 status. In some cases, one's status as a sibling of a title-holder, or as his
matāpule, counts in determining one's effective rank in the class system;

621 * I exclude detailed background statistics on 'Uiha since they are not crucial
565 to the presentation of my framework. In 1972, I recorded the following data
423 for the period that I was in residence: there were 703 persons distributed
101 among 118 household compounds, 10 of which were deserted (their former
162 occupants living abroad or elsewhere in Tonga). According to a general
survey of Tongan land in 1962, there were 154 *'api tukuhau*, registered and
unregistered, in the estate of 'Uiha. In some cases, two or more plots, con-
sidered separate *'api tukuhau*, were held by one person; most plots were less
than the maximum-sized *'api tukuhau* of 8½ acres, and some were even less
than 1 acre.

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THE TONGAN KING

[115

part Sand but not without some Coral rock. This place is much better sheltered than where we last lay, but between the two is a place much better than either.¹

Lefooga and Ooleva are divided from each other by a reef of Coral rock which dries at low water so that one may walk from the one to the other without wetting a foot. This last island is as barren as the other is fertile, producing nothing but a few scurvy trees and shrubs and wholly without Inhabitants.²

TUESDAY 27th. At day break the next Morning I made the Signal to weigh, and as I intended to attempt a passage to Anamocka by the sw. in amongst the islands, I sent the Master away in a boat to Sound before the Ships. But before we could get under sail, the wind became unsettled and made it unsafe to attempt a passage this way till we were better acquainted with it or had a steady wind. I therefore lay fast and made the sign¹ for the Master to return, and afterwards sent him and the Master of the Discovery, each in a boat to examine the Channels as far as they could allowing time to return on board before dark. The wind was unsettled all day and blew in squalls with some Showers of rain. About Noon a large sailing Canoe came under our Stern in which the Indians on board told us was *Fatafehi Paulaho* King of all the Isles;³ we had reason to doubt this, but they stood to it and now for the first time told us that Feenough was not the King. As it was my interest as well as inclination to pay my Court to all these great men, without enquiring into the legality of their titles, I sent a boat to bring him on board as I understood he wanted to come. He brought with him as a present to me two good fat hogs, though not so fat as himself, for he was the most corpulent plump fellow we had met with. I found him to be a Seditate sensible man, he viewed the Ship and the several new objects with uncommon attention, and asked several pertinent questions one of which was 'what brought us to these islands'.⁴ After he had satisfied

¹ The anchorage, one takes it, off Pangai, the little township of Lifuka, on the shores of a distinct bay (see Chart XLVI). But though the anchorage is good, Cook would have found an embarrassing number of reefs and shoals interposing.

² 'Olaiva although as large an island as Laifooa, is intirely uncultivated & almost uninhabited, only a few fishermen live in it. it seems a sandy poor soil in general, but we saw that formerly it had not been intirely neglected, there being appearances of former cultivation, we understood that from terrible Lightning all the possessions of the inhabitants were destroy'd, some kill'd, & the state of the remains of part of the coconut trees we saw, was occasion'd by that lightning; since which no one had chose to make plantations.'

—King, 27 May.

³ Fatafehi Paulaho, 36th Tu'i Tonga, c. 1770-84. Fatafehi was a 'family name' of the Tu'i Tonga—not a 'surname', but one much used among the members of his chiefly family.

⁴ 'he now ask'd our business there, where we came from, & where we were going, questions which had never been put to us before; to satisfy him, a map was produced & explained to him, & by his explaining it again to his followers, he shew'd that he was

1777]

TONGAN CHIEFS

[125

sails a shore to repair and a party cutting wood for fuel and Plank for the use of the Ship. The gunners of both Ships were ordered a shore to traffick with the natives, who thronged from all parts with Hogs, yams, & cocoanuts &c^a so that our little post was like a fair and the Ships so thronged that we had hardly room to stir on the decks. 122 439

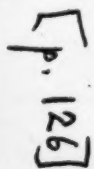
Feenough had taken up his residence near us, but he was no longer the acting man, we however found him to be a man of consequence and property and still continued to make us presents of Hogs &c^a. As to the King scarce a day pa[s]t that had not some thing considerable from him. We heard of other great men which we had not yet seen particularly one *Mariwaggy*,¹ who we understood was Fattafce Polaho's Father and the first man on the island, but that he was an old man and would not visit us; some even hinted, that he was too great a man to be seen by us, at least so Omai interpreted it.² The account they gave of this Chief made me very desirous of seeing him and I at last prevailed on Fattafce the King to accompany me the next Morning to the place of his residence. Accordingly we set out pretty early, accompanied by Captain Clerke in his own boat, Omai and some of the officers. We proceeded round and to the Eastward of the isles that forms the harbour and then entered a large inlet up which we rowed about one league and then landed near to the residence of this great man.³ We had no sooner landed then we were told that he was gone to the Ships. I suspected this was not true, but that he was gone out of the way in order not to be seen by us, as some had suggested. Pequed at being thus disapointed, after a short stay I returned on board, when we found *Mariwaggy* had not been nor was he expected. It however afterwards appeared that Omai 648 634 431 648 643 [431] Thur. 12 [124]

¹ Macaliuaki.

² Macaliuaki was certainly Paulaho's 'classificatory father': the term *taeae*, father, would include all paternal male affines. He was indeed a very great man, and in a secular sense certainly the 'first man on the island', and indeed in all Tonga; for having been Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua (the fourteenth and last of the succession), hence deriving great prestige and privilege, he became Tu'i Kanokupolu (the eighth of that line)—and it was the Tu'i Kanokupolu who was the effective principal ruler of the group. Cf. II, p. lxxv. A venerable figure, 'grey with age', as Cook notes below, he was to die later in this year 1777.

³ The place of this landing is traditionally remembered. Cook had to take the same circuitous route anyone must take nowadays from the Nuku'alofa jetty—round the islands and into the lagoon through an extraordinary mass of coral reefs. The lagoon forms two arms. Just off the present road, which runs close to the lagoon, a little south-west of the large village of Mu'a, is a very little cove, part of a larger wide cove at the bottom of the eastern arm of Mu'a inlet; and here, it is said, Cook stepped ashore. He could hardly do so now. Mangroves have crept all round and the shore is very muddy; trees hang over the water and the coral of the bank has fallen away in large pieces; a few yards from the water a huge banyan (*Ficus obliqua*) marks the scene. The place is called Alaki, though the village of Alaki has been moved a mile or so to the south. It is possible, however, that tradition is mistaken in being quite so precise, because the text (p. 138 below) refers to the village as 'Moa' or Mu'a; ancient Mu'a, however, was very near, and it is even possible that Alaki village did not then exist. 467 [137] [133] [36]

107
103
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361



107
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361

1777]

A TONGAN VILLAGE

[127

which on most occasions was our interpreter had either been mis-
 informed or what was more likely had misunderstood them for in
 this affair we had been labouring under some gross mistakes, this
 Marriwaggy, tho a great man yet was by no means superior to
 Fattafee Polaho. I was now very sorry I did not make a longer stay
 at the place we went to; it was a Villige most delightfully situated
 on the bank of the inlet, where all or most of the great men in the
 island resided, each having his house in the midst of a small plan-
 tation, with lesser houses and offices for servants &c^a. These planta-
 tions were all neatly finced round, with for the most part only one
 entrance which was by a door that was generally fastened on the
 inside by a shore or prop of wood, so that a person has to knock
 before he can get admittance. Publick roads and narrow lanes lay
 between every plantation, so that no one trespasseth upon another.
 Great part of some of these plantations were laid out in grass plats,
 and planted with such things as seemed more for Ornament than
 use; but hardly any were without the Cava plant on which they
 make their favourate drink, and some were planted with every thing
 the island produceth, but I observed these were not the residence of
 people of the first rank. There were some large house[s] near the
 publick roads uninclosed with large smooth grass plats before them;
 these I was told belonged to the King, they seemed to be common
 to every one and were probably the places where they have their
 publick assembl[ies]. On our first landing we were conducted to
 one of these houses where we seated our selves according to the Cust-
 om of the Country and in a short time had a very numerous assembly
 who very orderly seated themselves in a simicircle before us, not one
 attempting to come near us unless desired.

FRIDAY 13th. About Noon the next day this Mariwaggy we had
 heard so much of actually came, and with him a very considerable
 number of people of all ranks. In the after noon a party of us accom-
 panied by Feenough went to pay him a visit; we found him amongst a
 great number of peop[l]e of both sex Seated round a large piece of
 Cloth, not less than 40 yards in length, spread out on the ground. At
 the upper end sat an elderly Chief named Toobough, which for dis-
 tinction sake I shall call old Toobough,¹ him, from the place he was
 seated, we took to be Marriwaggy till undeceived by Feenough, who
 interduced us to him seated on one side; he received us very kindly
 and desired us to sit down by him; he and also Toobough had a very
 venerable appearance, both being grey with age. The meeting with

¹ I.e. a different Tupou again, and a more important one: see p. 129, n. 1 below.

138]

[1777]
Resolution AND Discovery

[June

122 Having now some leasure time before me, a party of us accom-
 Thur. 26 panied by Fattafee the King, set out early the next Morning in a boat
 for [Moa] the Village where the King and other great men usually
 reside.¹ As we went up the Inlet we met with the Prince with fourteen

226 Canoes fishing; in each canoe was a triangler net extended between
 two poles, at the lower angle was a Cod to receive and secure the
 fish, they had already caught some fine Mullet, and put about a
 dozen into my boat. I desired to see their method of fishing, this they
 readily complied with, a Shoal of fish was supposed to be on one of
 the banks which they in a instant inclosed in a long net like a Seine
 or set net, this the fishers surrounded with the triangler nets in their
 hands with which they scooped the fish out of the other, or caught
 them as they attempted to leap over it. They shewed us the method by
 throwing in some of the fish they had before caught, for at this time
 there was none to inclose in the net so that we could not see the cer-
 tainty of the method, but it appeared to be a very sure method.

648 Leaving the Prince and his fishery we proceeded and soon arrived at
 643 the Village. As soon as we landed the King desired Omai to tell me
 that I need be under no apprehensions for the boat or any thing in
 her, for not a single thing would be touched by any one whatever
 and so it proved. We were immediately conducted to one of his
 houses not far from the one we had been at before, but this tho pretty
 large, seemed to be a private one and was situated within a planta-
 tion. The King took his seat at one end of the house and the people,
 who came to visit him, sat down as they entered in a simicircle at
 the other. The first thing done was to make a bowl of Cava and
 order some yams to be baked for us, while these were cooking Omai
 and I accompanied by one of the Kings servants Walked out to view
 764 the place. The only thing we met with worth mentioning was a
 532 larg[e] Affi-a-too-ca² or burying ground belonging to the King, a
 Wall of stone inclosed three seperate Mounts and on each of these
 Mounts stood a house, under which as we were told, the dead are
 buried, but there was nothing of this sort to be seen; the floors of
 these houses were covered with loose fine pebbles and like wise the

[361] ¹ Mu'a, anciently Lapaha. *Mu'a* means 'first': it was the first, the capital, village, and
 [644] the seat of Tongan government for six centuries. The three really great men who resided
 [344] there were the Tu'i Tonga, in the area called Lapaha; the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua in that,
 [164] much smaller, called Moalunga; and the Tu'i Kanokupolu, in that, larger again, called
 Tatakamotonga. The Tu'i Tonga had his great *mala's* there, and there were the *laugi* or
 royal tombs; as also the burial places of the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, but not of the Tu'i
 Kanokupolu. McKern has a full description in his *Tongan Archaeology*, pp. 92-101, with an
 interesting plan, p. 95.—The name, in square brackets, in the text has been supplied by
 Douglas in a large space left for it by Cook, and is supplied similarly below as M[oa] and
 [Moa].

² *fa'ituka*.

862]

[1777]
ANDERSON'S JOURNAL

[April

609 apiece, but bunches of plantanes or fowls were purchas'd for
 449 middling siz'd nails. The inhabitants were not numerous and their
 huts which were collected together and stood within a plantane walk
 361 but indifferent: not far from them there was a pretty large pond of
 312 fresh water, which was tolerable though not equal to what we com-
 monly meet with in streams, of which there was not the least
 114 appearance. Between two and three in the afternoon we pass'd this
 133 island, the higher parts of which are not wooded and seem to be
 [137] uncultivated, but it has notwithstanding a pleasant appearance. We
 pass'd near a reef or shoal that lyes to the sw of it and in the evening
 were abreast of Annamocka, but being three or four miles to lee-
 ward kept turning up as we had no soundings with less than 40
 fathom which made it inconv[en]ient to anchor. The bottom was
 rocky & we had sometimes 55 fathom but at eleven at night 50 with
 the same sort of ground.

192 WEDNESDAY 30th. Long. TK 184.41 E. The wind from ENE to N and
 nbw. Moderate breezes and sometimes gentle or almost calm. The
 weather dull with a great deal of rain early in the morning and some
 114 in the afternoon. A swell from the sw. Before day light we continued
 to make short boards and when that appear'd were nearly in the
 same place as last night, but soon after as there was but little wind we
 [193] fell more to leeward. When the breeze sprung up we stood in and at
 eleven in the forenoon were near the shore of Annamocka eete¹ or
 little Annamocka, off which lye some shoals on which a high surf
 broke. We afterwards made several tacks and as the wind became
 more favourable in the afternoon we lay up for the anchoring place
 at Annamocka, but it failing us in the evening we anchor'd in 42
 fathom coral sand and shells about two miles off shore at the WNW
 114 part of the island. In the forenoon we saw two islands to the NWthward
 133 which are those call'd Kaybay and Mattasôa² in Abel Tasman's plate
 [103] of Annamocka, where they are represented too small. The one is a
 single mountain of a Conic figure which has a noble appearance, and
 439 the other is pretty long and flat on the top though much higher than
 any of the neighbouring isles (except that just mention'd) or indeed
 of any we had yet seen between the tropics. All the day we had
 several canoes, sometimes near twenty, about the ship from whom we
 purchas'd a great quantity of vegetables and about a dozen small
 hogs and pigs besides many fowls. Our trade was brisker today as

¹ Their names as told us by the natives are 'Káo and To'fooa. [Kao and Tofua.]

² Nomuka Iki.

904]

[1777]
ANDERSON'S JOURNAL

[June

226 furnish'd, and wading up to the middle within the seine directed it slowly under water where they saw any fish, and rais'd it up pretty quickly, bringing the fish when the[y] caught any in it. We got a few mullet from them & then row'd to the bottom of the bay where we landed on going to see Marecwagge, from whence we proceeded to Poulahos house which was but a little way off. Almost close by it we found a Fya'tocka or burying place much more extensive and seemingly of more consequence than any we had seen at the other islands. It consisted of three pretty large houses situated on a rising ground or rather just by the brink of it, with a small one at some distance, all rangd longitudinally. The middle house of the three first was by much the largest, and plac'd in a square 24 paces by twenty eight raised about three feet high, with the surface coverd with shingle stones and the whole bounded by large flat stones of hard coral rock, properly hewn, plac'd on their edges, one of which measur'd twelve feet in length, two in breadth and above one in thickness. The others were plac'd on little mounts rais'd artificially to the same height and coverd with gravel, one of the huts, contrary to what we had seen before, being open on one side which we enterd & found coverd with shingle, with two rude wooden busts of men, one at the entrance the other farther in, the last of which from its appearance had been there perhaps several ages. On calling to some of the natives who had follow'd us to the ground but durst not enter here, to enquire what they were intended for, they made us as sensible as we could wish that they were merely memorials of some chiefs who had been buried there.¹ A[t] the foot of the rising ground there is a large area or plat of grass with different trees about it, amongst which are several of those call'd Etóá very large, which resemble the Cypress & have a fine effect in such a place. There is also a row of low palms near one of the houses & behind them is a ditch in which was a vast number of old baskets.

• 361 We travers'd the greatest part of the country about the bottom of the Bay which is call'd Mooa,² and found it perfectly cultivated for [311] above a mile back from the sea, and full of inclosures made by such fences as were seen at Ha'pae but they were more extensive and had [565] finer roads in the interspaces. The habitations within these inclosures are very numerous and belong chiefly to some of the principal people 351 of the island, many of whom reside at this place. Each of them has a proper entrance or door, generally higher than the fence & of a 342 sufficient breadth, which opens in the same manner as one properly 417 hung upon hinges, behind which is a pretty large spar that rests with

¹ Cf. Cook, p. 139, n. 1 above.² Mu'a.

[1777]

ANDERSON'S JOURNAL

[July

944]

264 wash their hands with a piece of the plantane tree broke and rubb'd
 515 over them, the husk of the cocoa nut or any thing that has moisture,
 which serves on all occasions and is a lesson necessity (from the
 scarcity of water) has certainly taught them.

517 The situation of their houses was mention'd before; but notwith-
 standing their method of life requires they should be much scatterd,
 361 that each man may cultivate his own ground, they are very fond of
 associating together, so that it is common to find several houses
 empty and the owners conven'd in some other one or a convenient
 spot in the neighbourhood, where they recreate themselves by
 533 conversing and other amusements. Their private diversions are
 [535] chiefly singing, dancing and music perform'd by the women. When
 [517] one, two or three or more women sing in concert & snap the fingers
 it is call'd oo'bai,¹ but when there is a great number they divide into
 several partys each of whom sings on a different key which makes a
 [535] very agreeable music and is call'd Heeva. In the same manner they
 vary the music of their flutes by playing on those of a different size,
 535 but their dancing is much as when they perform publicly. The
 dancing of the men (if it is to be call'd dancing) although it does not
 consist much in moving the feet as we do, has a thousand different
 motions with the hands to which we are entire strangers. They seem
 to be as numerous as all the steps in our different dances taken
 together, & perform'd with an ease and grace which is not to be
 [868] describ'd, nor conceiv'd but by those who have seen them. It appears
 indeed to be one of the principal articles of their education, for the
 boys when very young are constantly practising them and at no great
 526 age perform them as dexterously as those that are grown up. There
 are some others which may be call'd their house diversions practic'd
 by the grown people, one of which nam'd Kaka'habo² is exactly upon
 the same principle as our Cup and ball. It is done by fastening a bit
 of Tortoise shell, four inches long & one broad with the ends turn'd
 up above an inch & fork'd, across the end of a small rod about four
 feet long, near the other end of which a small round gourd shell is
 fix'd with a string just of a sufficient length to allow its being thrown
 into the tortoise shell. They also fasten the hard round seed of a plant
 larger than a musket ball to each end of a string about two feet long,

¹ *sup.* The word has changed its meaning, being now equivalent to 'lullaby'. But it must always have had a wide significance: Mariner says (II, p. 217) 'Oobe. This kind of singing is always accompanied with the *fango-fango*, (or nose-flute). The subjects of the song are much the same as those last described, but the style of music is different, being more monotonous and grave.' The songs 'last described' were 'descriptive of scenery . . . descriptive of past events, or of places which are out of their reach, such as *Bolotoo* and *Papalangi*.'

² Mariner calls the game 'habo', and says it was practised by women only. *Hapohapo* is to keep on throwing something up and catching it.

[1777]

EXCURSION ON 'EUA

[961]

nothing but the trees that cover them, but here the land rising gently upwards presents us with an extensive prospect, where groves of trees are only interspers'd at irregular distances in beautiful disorder and the rest covered with grass. Near the shore again it is quite cover'd with various trees amongst which are the habitations of the natives, and to the right of our station was one of the most extensive groves of Cocoa palms I ever saw.

SUNDAY 13th. The wind E. Fresh breezes with cloudy W^r & in the evening a little rain. Brought off a Launch load of water. Traded on shore for a good number of Yams and some hogs.

In the afternoon a party of us made an excursion to the highest part of the island, which was a little to the right, and in our way pass'd a deep valley or rather chasm which is very narrow. About half way up we could see that part of the island under us extended into a large down which had several risings interspers'd with small clusters of trees, but quite uncultivated, and covered with grass about the height of the knee where numberless cattle might be fed. On the top we found a round heap of coral stones which they call'd E'tchee as that at Tonga, and seem'd to say it was a mark of Poulahos sovereignty over the island. At this place was also a spring of excellent water, and though we found Coral rock at the surface, on crossing the deep valley which is several hundred feet above the sea we saw here a soft reddish rock and some sand stone. The top of the island from this to the north point is an extended flat like that before mentioned, behind which it rises gradually; but the east side of the island, though it has a flat like the opposite one, terminates in steep craggs towards the sea and is at this place in all not above five or six miles broad. Besides the plants common on the other isles we found on the height a species of *Acrosticum*,¹ *Melastoma*² and Fern tree³ with a few other ferns and plants not common below. Amongst the rest was the Jeejee in its natural state which grows eight or ten feet high. We return'd by another road which led us through a wooded part of the country and about third way down met with a little pool of excellent water which kept running into a much larger below, but we could not follow it as the valley was rugged and the natives say it does not reach the sea unless when it rains much. We found they burnt the grass in many places but could not discover that it was intended for planting, although they have a few spots cultivated almost to the top.

¹ Probably this was the fern Hakato, *Acrostichum aureum*.

² *Melastoma denticulatum*, a branched spreading shrub called in Tonga Peaikuku.

³ The fern tree Longolongo, *Cyathea circinalis*, found all over Tonga, and especially common on 'Eua.

1014]

[1777]
SAMWELL'S JOURNAL

[April

1499 the Hogs or breadfruit, & tho' it was a contraband Trade it was
 648 prosecuted with the greatest Activity & Spirit in defiance of the
 565 severe Penalties with which it was loaded, & in Contempt of that
 171 Danger which attended the Prosecution of this fraudulent & lucrative
 Traffick. This Article was no other than red Feathers. It must be
 remembered that at Otaheite red Feathers are prized above anything
 whatsoever, they being the most valuable offering they make to their
 Gods & very scarce at that Island as they have no birds with red
 Plumage, this Circumstance was found out by our Circumnavigators
 last Voyage, who happening to bring a few red feathers with them
 from the Marqueses found what great Value the Otaheiteans set upon
 them, preferring them to every thing they had got. This being
 universally known in the two Ships it is no wonder that every one
 endeavoured to supply himself with a good Stock at these Islands
 where they are so plentiful, tho' these people get them from another
 Island. The Indians in a short time perceiving our eagerness after
 them raised the Price of them, so that at last they became so dear
 that it was hardly worth our while to purchase them, as the Hatchets
 & Shirts we gave them would fetch as much at Otaheite as the small
 Quantity of Feathers they gave us for them. However every one
 provided himself with a good Stock before we left these Islands &
 292 they turned out to very good Account at Otaheite. The Inhabitants
 301 make Caps of them & various Ornaments for their Dresses, those
 they sold us were pasted on Cloth, & had a very beautiful appearance.

122 Some of us used to go every day shooting wild Ducks, a great
 609 number of which were met with on a large Lagoon & some Ponds in
 the interior Part of the Island, the Indians would generally attend us
 & look out for them & when they were shot run into the Pond &
 244 fetch them out. Along the large lagoon which occupies a great part
 361 of the middle of ye Island are most delightful walks shaded from the
 262 Sun by the branches that meet together over head; the Country
 throughout is exceedingly well cultivated & has the appearance of
 a beautiful Garden; nothing can be more agreeable than the Inclosures
 in which their Houses stand, round which the bread fruit & Plantain
 Trees grow & extend their friendly Shade over the Natives, while
 they sit beneath them partaking of a delicious & wholesome Meal
 supplied by those trees that spread their umbrageous Leaves to
 defend them from the Rays of too near a Sun. Such enchanting
 193 Prospects does this little Isle afford that it may be said to realize the
 poetical Descriptions of the Elysian Fields in ancient Writers, it is
 certainly as beautiful a Spot as Imagination can paint; there are
 small Hills here & there to vary the prospect, tho' they rise to no

1777]

AMICABLE RELATIONS

[1031

& made a blow at him, but missed him; he endeavoured to lay hold of me again, but well knowing that putting a good face on the Matter would be the only way to extricate myself out of their Hands, I followed my blow & after making an Effort or two to lay hold of me he took to his Heels finding himself deserted by his Confederates, who had run away in the utmost precipitation on my first getting loose, I thus saved above one half of the Beads & probably my Cloaths which it is odds but they intended to take from me. This was the only instance of Violence that I met with among them, tho' I was frequently as much in their Power as I was at this time. 648 685

There were but few Houses on that part of the Island where the Ships lay, & those who came from distant Parts erected temporary Huts near our Tents for their residence during our stay in the Country. Among these was Malawagee the father of Phenow, an old Man & a Chief of the first consequence, and there was another Chief who generally resided in the House close to the Tent, who was remarkable for being foolish & possessing the highest Rank tho' it is believed not the greatest power of any of the Chiefs of these Islands. His name was Tooloobooloo,¹ he had a wife as foolish as himself and they both seemed to be considered in the light of Divinities among their Countrymen; Powlohow who was certainly their King, as he possessed the first Authority among them, was not even suffered to eat in the presence of this foolish Fellow. Omai spent most part of his time on shore, where he erected a small House for himself and his Girl close to the Astronomer's observatories; as he always kept Company with Capt^a Cook & the officers of the Ships, he was looked upon as a Chief of great Consequence & as such was highly respected among them. The two new Zealand Boys did not trouble the Ship much while we staid here, they spent most of their time among the Natives, who paid much attention to them & were very fond of their Company; having once seen the new Zealand Heivah or war dance they frequently desired the Boys to perform it before them which they did & were much caressed & admired for it. In this manner those who had leasure time on their Hands spent it here, while the necessary duty of the ship was carried on such as wooding, watering, repairing the Sails, salting Pork & stowing away yams for a Sea Stock, & Capt^a Cook kept up an amicable intercourse with the Chiefs by making them Presents & treating them at all times with Kindness & respect, by which means our market ashore & the Ships were well supplied with provisions but which cannot be the case without the Concurrence of the Chiefs, who have it in their Power to 361 643 644 123 177 648 439 123 122 784

¹ Latunipulu.

[1777]

1036]

SAMWELL'S JOURNAL

[June

512 They bathe themselves about Sunrising either in the small Pools or
 [515] in the Sea. In the Morning Parties meet together who form a ring &
 [599] sing to the beat of Drum & drink Kava after which they eat baked
 [276] yams or breadfruit. They dine about noon generally upon baked
 [574] yams & breadfruit with Puddings made of Plantains, & sometimes
 [264] the better sort have Pork but more commonly Fish, drinking water
 [262] with it which they seem to prefer in general to the Cocoa nut milk,
 [271] not caring so much for that as the meat of the nut. The Chiefs are
 [272] served at their meals with much Parade, a single yam being often
 [565] brought on a pole between two men so that a dinner consisting of a
 [264] dozen or two of yams, some parcels of baked Fish, Plantains, Cocoa
 [262] nuts & shells of water & the plantain Leaves for a table Cloth will
 [252] employ 30 or 40 people. Their method of Cooking differs in nothing
 [171] material from that of Otaheite which has been amply described in
 [592] Captⁿ Cook's first Voyage to that Island. About sunset they play
 [521] upon their Flutes, sing or sit in discourse with their Women before
 [535] their Houses; after dark they light Torches in their Houses by which
 [222] they sit and converse or meet together in large Companies of young
 men & women & dance upon the green plats before their Doors.
 The young women on these occasions make use of many lascivious
 Gestures & Motions, & so fond are they of this amusement that not a
 day passes but many of these dances are performed in all parts of the
 Country. While these are employed in following their Pleasures
 others line the shores with Torches in their Canoes as a decoy for the
 Fish, which they catch in that manner.

Every Chief has his Land inclosed with a hedge of Wicker work
 351 about 8 feet high made with Bamboo which has a very neat appear-
 417 ance. To this inclosure there is one entrance only, at a door made of
 Planks which is kept shut by a long pole resting against it on the
 361 inside & it cannot be opened on the outside. Within the generality
 342 of these Inclosures stand about half a dozen Houses among the Cocoa
 362 nut & Bread fruit Trees & groves of Plantains; the Houses are small
 & contain but one family in each, the Shape of them is an oblong
 square, the floors are raised about a foot from the Surface of the
 ground and always covered with matts, the Eves reach near the
 Ground & the sides are made of wicker work tho' some again are
 352 quite open. The Married people are separated at night from the rest
 by Skreens made of Strong thick matts which they draw round them,
 & these they make use of in the day & move them about occasionally
 [415] to defend them from the wind & the Sun. The furniture of their
 [411] Houses consists of the Garee¹ or Stools which they use for Pillows,

¹ kali.

1906]

[1777]
APPENDIX III

175 according to the estimated consequence of the Gentleman to whom you are
 634 introduced, in this I believe they guess well, in respect to myself I am sure
 643 they do; however this old Gentleman, was nothing more than Agee or
 Prince of this particular district where we happen'd to lay,¹ and upon all
 Occasions did homage as a subject to Powlahow, who we found to be
 indisputably to all intents and purposes Agee-lahi or King of this Island
 175 and all its various Connexions. Feenow, tho' not King Feenow, was still a
 634 very powerfull Gentleman; in the first place he was their Generalissimo
 159 and upon all Occasions led their Armies to battle; in the next he was an
 701 active, stirring fellow, enterprizing and extremely popular, so that though
 he was not by his Station so consequential as some few of them, yet by his
 disposition and attention he render'd himself every atom as formidable,
 and his friendship might be, and was, productive of more services to us
 175 than any of [the] rest cou'd have contributed. Powlahow most certainly was
 643 Lord of all, but he was an indolent, fat, greasy rogue, whose sole delight
 159 was eating, drinking, laughing, and the Diversions of the Seraglio; let him
 but abound in these amusements, which was pretty much the case with him
 and who wou'd might reign and direct the affairs of State for what he car'd.

On the [19th] instant Cap^t Cook distributed among the principal
 175 People, some of his Cattle. He gave them a Bull and a Cow; Horse and
 123 Mare, several Sheep & some Goats of different Sexes; these I hope and
 flatter myself will flourish and become a blessing to them. I think they are
 [181] full as likely to increase among these People as among any set of Indians
 we know of; these are by no means so much the Children of the Hour as
 our good friends of Otaheite and the Society Isles; they have infinitely
 more thought and attention to the morrow than those good Fellows, which
 their industry in agriculture and extensive plantations sufficiently evince.
 000 On the other hand, in respect to our hungry Acquaintance, the Zealanders,
 every thing among them so immediately becomes the property of force and
 power, that no Man knows what may be his possessions tomorrow; conse-
 quently nothing is worth keeping that can possibly be made to accrue to
 our use or satisfaction to day. In my Opinion the first friendly office that
 can be done those People wou'd be if possible to correct their Dispositions
 in respect to each other, untill that can be brought about, every attempt to
 contribute to the good of that Society in general must be ineffectual, as
 that universal, internal discord which reigns throughout the Country
 wou'd inevitably defeat them.

175 On the 8th of July, I went with Cap^t Cook by particular invitation and
 644 desire of Powlahow to his habitation to be present at a very extraordinary
 651 Ceremony, perform'd in honour of his Sons arrival at such a particular
 Age. This House of Powlahow's is situate in the same part of the Country
 361 as we went to in order to visit Mallawogga; this being, as I before observ'd
 175 a most agreeable part of the Isle, many of the principal People have Houses

¹ This is a misapprehension of Macaliuaki's status, as has been made plain before. But he was, according to Anderson, p. 950 above, the 'Lord' or 'Baron' of the district of 'Noogoo noogoo'—i.e. the island Nukunuku, south-east of the anchorage.

[1777] CLERKE'S JOURNAL

[1307]

and Plantations in the Neighbourhood. We understood that this Ceremony was to qualify the Youth to eat before his Father; for by a confounded unsocial Law which they have among them, no two great people can eat or drink in each others Sight. When two of these Agee's met, either at Cap^t Cooks Table or mine, the man of least rank always retir'd; any great Man, will have his dependants or any other of his Inferiors, who are of no particular distinction, eating and drinking about him, but no two People of the first Consequence will eat or drink in the presence of each other, but to return to Powlahow; We were not enough acquainted with the Language to understand the various Harangues upon this Occasion, so that all our Observations were confined to the outward Order and method of it. From its solemnity it must be a religious business, but what seems extraordinary in such a kind of Undertaking is, nobody but the Gentry were suffer'd to act in it, or even to see it, for before the processions began, there were parties of people with Clubs sent about to clear the Streets and knock any body on the head that dare violate the prohibition so far as to be seen abroad during such a particular Time. Tho' we were there by the particular Invitation of the King, we were not suffer'd openly to look at them, but were put behind a Bamboo hedge just by, where however by dividing the Bamboo's a little we cou'd see tolerably well. The Scene was acted upon a large Grass Plot, nearly in the middle of which was run up a little Slight Shed purely upon this Occasion; under this Shed was seated the young Prince (a fine well grown Youth of about 14 or 15, so swaddled in Cloaths as to be almost unable to move) with a few of the Nobles about him; when the Father, King Powlahow arriv'd he sat down at some distance with only 2 of his People with him, and was as far as I cou'd observe merely a Spectator throughout the business. About 10 yards from this Shed were seated a number of Gentlemen, for every man of consequence throughout the Land was assembled upon this Occasion. Whilst matters were in this situation, various little ceremonies pass'd which were altogether mysterious to me, so can say nothing of their purport; presently arriv'd the procession in very solemn order, it consisted of 600 of the principal People of the Island, each two carrying a stick between them upon their Shoulders, on which was tyed a sample of some particular produce of the Isle, and on some a few Fish; upon the arrival of these, those Gentlemen who were sitting at a distance from the Shed rose up and they all went together and sat themselves down as near as convenient to the Prince, and there in a very serious manner offer'd him the various Samples they had brought; some particular People whom I shou'd suppose to be Priests, making a Speech at every particular one. Soon afterwards arriv'd 30 Agee or Principal Women each two carrying a piece of white Cloth between them, which was offer'd him in the same manner. After this Ceremony was over, the business of the day was ended and every one went about his Business. The next day the same kind of form took place in every particular, and all Matters were conducted as on the day before as far as I cou'd perceive, only that after the Ceremony was done with the

[1777]

KING'S JOURNAL

[1365]

the time that their entertainments were exhibit'd there might be not short of 12,000 people, who built temporary huts or slept under the trees about the tent; at the Ceremony at Moa¹ we suppose not less than 600 chiefs were assembled, but from these bodies I see no good conclusion to be drawn of the number in either all, or any one of them. From the Nature of the Country, requiring the labour & industry of the Natives for their support, it cannot be near so populous in proportion to their size as what the Society Islands are; the houses here are by no means thickly scattered about & many parts in all the Islands are uncultivat'd, owing to the Sandiness & poverty of the Soil in low Islands, & in the high ones to their elevatd & expos'd situation; besides the larger low Islands have extensive lagoons & lakes as at Tonga & Anamooka, which considerably lessens the surface, leaving therefore their population to be gatherd from the nature of the Country. We will proceed to their Colour, form, & Natural dispositions.

The Friendly Islanders are of a lively brown Colour & a shade darker than Omai. Although many of their principal women were fairer, their colour resembles that of the Mallays we saw at the Cape of Good hope; they are in general above the middle size, many very tall men & but a few under sizd, they are firmly & compactly made about the joints, broad shoulderd & Muscular, & perhaps few natives exceed them in that form, which requires both strenght & agility; this is even to be observ'd in their walking but abundantly shewn in their athletick exercises & dances: their hair I believe is universally black or a dark brown when young, but they have a method of colouring it which deceives one at first; it is not unusual to see two diff^t colours on the same head, & perhaps one purple; a sort of chalky paste which they very often daub upon their heads turns the hair a yellow sandy colour; they are still more various in their fashion of wearing it, being cut short on some parts & others left long, yet as they seem to admire fine long hair, we rather suppose that when it is even partially cut, & we know it to be the case when all short, that it is in memory of some deceas'd friend. There are but few who have beards, but shave very dextrously with 2 shells, laying one under the hair & the sharp point of the one above meeting that of the one below, cuts it close off. The Chiefs have glossy smooth skins preservd so by frequent washing; & as fresh water is scarce, they after bathing in salt water throw over them a few coco nut shells of fresh, which takes the salt which otherwise adheres to the skin, & which gives a disagreeable roughness to that of the common people, & afterwards rub over their bodies Coco nut Oile perfectly sweet & free from any disagreeable smell. There are nevertheless many cutaneous marks from disorders & from voluntary inflictions; more than half of them are affect'd with the tetter or ringworm, which leaves behind a whitish mark; boils & blotches are often met with, & inflam'd sore Eyes are frequent; few are free from marks on the Cheek bone, which they make by quick repeating strokes with the knuckles on the death of their friends or relations, besides these there are many other disfiguring marks inflict'd on the same

¹ Mu'a.

RANK IN TONGA 189

all. And much less, an internal stratified system as the result of ramification (ramage type according to M. Sahlins) can not be possibly found in this village. Supposing the ramage type to exist here in this village, all the villagers should be integrated into a triangle of hierarchy, the top of which is occupied by Leka. Actually Leka is in the highest rank of the villagers but except for his position it does not seem that people are internally stratified.

This illustrates precisely how the existing situation can be clouded by a failure to distinguish societal ranking from social status, failure to understand that a different kind of rank operates within them, failure to delineate how these systems are subdivided and ranked in relation to specific activities, and failure to understand how the systems can be manipulated.

Aoyagi seems to imply that village structure is, or should be, a microcosm of the societal structure. In Tonga, at least, this is not the case. *Ha'a* are part of the societal structure and have little to do with villages, and not all villages have men of title. No doubt "ramages" did not exist in Aoyagi's village, since "ramages" (*ha'a*) can only be conceptualized in terms of the whole society and would make no sense at all in terms of a single village. But that *ha'a* do exist as societal groupings is undeniable. The whole traditional government is predicated on them, and one can observe them in operation in a royal kava ceremony. Village structure in Tonga today is a Western overlay rather than part of the traditional system. Traditionally the people did not live in villages, the usual pattern being one of dispersed settlement (Maude 1965: 27). The positions of *ofisa kolo* (town officer) and *pule fakavahe* (district officer) are appendages of a central administrative system that is concerned mainly with health, sanitation, and taxes.

Power and prestige are still functions of the traditional sociopolitical system based on *ha'a* affiliation and the class division that separates chiefs from commoners. Education is a new force, but those educated men who succeed usually do so by manipulating the traditional system to their advantage, e.g., by marrying the daughters of high-ranking chiefs. The society as a whole is still kinship oriented, and the principles of *kāinga* rank are acknowledged on even the most important societal occasions.

During the recent coronation kava ceremony, a large pig was brought to the front of the kava circle and divided, ostensibly to be eaten by the chiefs and *mātapule* in the kava circle, but actually to be ritually taken away from each of the individual participants by a person of higher rank. This visually acknowledged the social fact that rank operates in more than one dimension, one set of principles being used on the societal level while a different set was operating within the *kāinga*. On this particular occasion all the *ha'a* were represented, and their relative rank and association with other *ha'a* were shown by the order in which their members were served and the position in which they were seated (*ha'a* ranking). Some of the title holders of the low-ranking *ha'a* are higher in class rank than the title holders of some of the high-ranking *ha'a*, but in this case *ha'a* rank takes precedence.²⁸ The persons who took away the portions of the pig had higher status within their *kāinga* than these highest societal ranking people.

Tonga has an internally stratified system and is very conscious of rank at

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size and its social and economic functions, Nuku'alofa cannot be regarded merely as an overgrown village. The South Pacific Commission, recognising the difficulties in defining the term "urban" in the South Pacific area, proposed three characteristics typical of Pacific urban settlements. A heavier concentration of population, an occupational structure involving a larger proportion in non-agricultural pursuits, and a form of government suited to the needs of the town.⁶ Nuku'alofa meets the first two characteristics and, by being the centre of all Tongan administration, must be considered as different from other settlements in Tonga even though it possesses no government peculiar to itself.⁷ As the capital of the kingdom it has several functions different from other towns in Tonga. It is the centre of administration, trade, commerce, church activities, education and other social services, the main port and the meeting ground for old and new, Tongan and foreign. Rural migrants form a large part of its population, its growth rate is much greater than almost all other settlements, it is considerably larger than any other town, and its inability to meet the problem of rapid inward migration is beginning to show in ways similar to urban areas outside Tonga where the same processes are at work. This is dramatically portrayed in a recent communique:

"The prison is full and the court overworked. On the 16th of March more than a hundred young people were involved in violent fighting in the streets of Nuku'alofa. Several boys received cane knife wounds and over thirty are being charged in a special court today."⁸

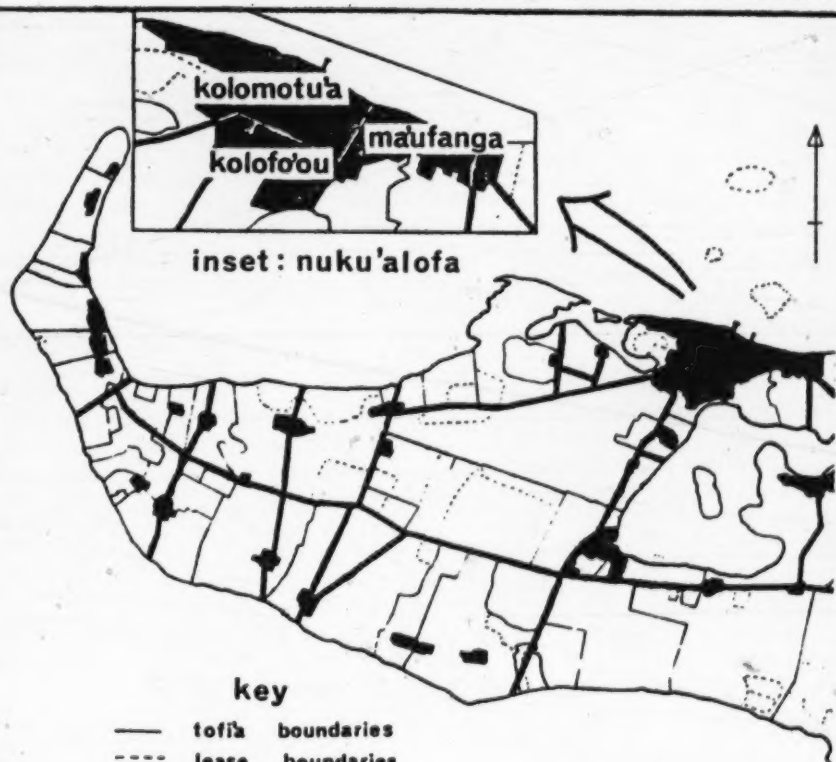
Thus, while conditions and attitudes appear rural, Nuku'alofa must be classed, by Pacific standards, as an urban settlement.

urban characteristics

The emergence of Nuku'alofa as the future capital of Tonga can be traced from an early association with the Tu'i Kanokupolu line of high chiefs.* Later, during the period of civil wars (1799-1845), the previously dispersed Tongan settlements became nucleated villages for reasons of defence.⁹ Subsequently the settlement became the main centre of Wesleyan Christianity and was chosen by the victorious Taufa'ahau (now King George I) as his permanent place of residence. It was from this time that the new village of Kolofo'ou (new town) emerged as the settlement of the king's followers, as distinct from the adjacent older settlement of Nuku'alofa which now assumed the name Kolomotu'a or old town. Ma'ufanga, the third distinct area of

* See glossary for all Tongan words used in text.

TONGATAPU : LAND UNIT



[p. 89-A]

Fig. 1

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J: LAND UNITS & VILLAGES



Fig. 1

[p.89-B]

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present-day Nuku'alofa, remained a separate village three miles east of these settlements until population increase brought it within the town's boundaries in recent years. Today these three settlements occupy an area of little more than two square miles on the northern side of Tonga's biggest island, Tongatapu. In 1966 the population was almost 16,000, nearly one-third of the population of Tongatapu and one-fifth of the population of the whole island group.

Its annual rate of population growth (6.9 per cent 1956-66) is nearly twice that of the kingdom as a whole so that today it has an estimated population of almost 18,000. It is four and a half times larger than the next largest settlement and its population density of twelve people per acre is high by Pacific standards.¹⁰ It contains most of the kingdom's non-Tongan population but these constitute only seven per cent of its total population. In 1956, the last census to be analysed, 43 per cent of the population had been born outside Nuku'alofa (see Table I and Fig. 1).

Table I
Urban Comparisons within Tonga, 1956

Town	Nuku'alofa	Pangai-Hihifo	Neiafu
Island Group	Tongatapu	Ha'apai	Vava'u
Population	9202	2803	2873
Next largest town in Island Group	2560	753	1004
Median Settlement size in Island Group	262	274	232
Town's percentage of population of Island Group	29*	28	23
Percentage of Tongan population in Island Group	55*	17	22

Source: 1956 Census

- * Preliminary figures released from the 1966 census indicated that these percentages had risen to 32.5 and 61.9 percent respectively.

There are difficulties in using conventional indices to classify employment in largely agricultural societies. This is true for the Tongan villager who, although more often an agriculturalist working his land for his family, will also "try his hands spasmodically at a number of other occupations that are likely to yield extra cash ... for example, the typical villager might fish occasionally for

rural characteristics

To the air passenger wheeling over Nuku'alofa on the descent to Fua'amotu airport some ten miles distant, there would be no doubt that the town presents a rural appearance. It would be difficult for him to remember, even if he knew, that below was a town of some 18,000 people with an average population density in excess of the Suva urban area which he had left some three hours earlier. He would see the iron roofed buildings of the administrative and commercial core, but beyond this would recognise no functional specialisation. Many of the houses, small and thatch roofed, would be hidden among the trees. More visible would be the white coral sand of the graveyards, marking the earlier boundaries of the town's component villages. Closer inspection would confirm the observation by Spillius that 98 per cent of the population live in rural conditions.¹⁴ There is no sewerage, reticulated water serves only key government areas and over half the population live in houses made at least in part of indigenous materials, often of traditional design. Towards the margins of the town the number of thatch and composite houses increases, as also does the percentage of migrants squatting on unconfirmed titles to land, and the involvement of agriculture. The town's boundaries, like its position in the rural-urban continuum, taper off slowly and only a broad transition area is distinguishable.

Land in Tonga is occupied on titles that trace their origin to the feudal days of the primitive nobility¹⁵ and to early attempts by the first modern king and his missionary advisors to modify tradition to more closely resemble the system of tenure acceptable in Victorian England.¹⁶ This blending of traditional and introduced, Tongan and Western, permeates almost every facet of Tongan life. It was consciously and deliberately introduced by a far-sighted monarch in an attempt to consolidate his position within a traditional framework and it served its function of perpetuating traditional content within a modified and apparently modern or western form.¹⁷ Thus, all land belongs to the Crown and through it to the nobles and government in the form of hereditary estates or tofi'a. These tofi'a are subsequently divided into 'api kolo or town allotments and 'api tukuhau or country allotments and all male tax payers are legally entitled to a town and country allotment, although this right cannot always be exercised. The occupier has only a life interest though it is usually inherited according to stipulated laws of succession which favour the eldest son and the widow. The town dweller in this respect is in no way different from the country dweller. He is attached to the land and the ownership and direction of this land is of family concern. Its social significance is at least equal to its economic significance. Thus, although some two-thirds of the town's household heads were without registered 'api tukuhau in 1963, only one-fifth had no access

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[364]
[365]
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[428]
[369]

THE PACIFIC IN TRANSITION

161 Table 7.1 Crude population densities by districts and island groups, 1931 and
162 1966 (Tonga)

District or group	Population 1966	Persons/km ²	
		1931	1966
Nuku'alofa*	18,686		
Western Tongatapu	2,318	112	210
Central and eastern Tongatapu	26,916	31	126
'Eua	3,391	4	39
Ha'apai	10,591	122	202
Southern and eastern Vava'u	10,668	87	149
Western Vava'u	2,865	32	66
Niuaotuputu and	1,994	37	37

[128] * Includes some of the villages around Nuku'alofa whose lands cannot be separated from those of the town.

in southern and eastern Vava'u, and low in 'Eua and western Vava'u.

Two broad explanations can be offered for this pattern, one static and the other dynamic. As Table 7.1 demonstrates, the contrast between western Tongatapu and Ha'apai, and the rest of Tonga, was much more marked in the past than at present, and it can be shown to date back to at least the nineteenth century. These long-established differences in population density cannot be explained by differences in land quality. Climatic and soil conditions in western Tongatapu and Ha'apai appear to be similar to those in central and eastern Tongatapu, although in Ha'apai the less fertile *tou'one* soil type occupies a higher percentage of the total land area than in Tongatapu. And while there may be some soil differences between western and eastern Vava'u which could help to explain the contrast in population densities there, in the absence of a soil survey there is insufficient evidence with which to test this possibility.* The main

161 • H. S. Gibbs, in a paper presented to the 1971 Pacific Science Congress in
361 Canberra on the results of a 1967 soil survey, states that the main difference in
162 soil types in Tongatapu is between yellowish-brown sticky clays in the eastern
part of the island, and reddish-brown friable clays in the rest of the island. This
pattern of soil types does not correlate with the pattern of population densities.

LAND SHORTAGE AND POPULATION PRESSURE IN TONGA

explanation seems to lie in the relationship between settlement and marine resources. In the past, fishing and reef-collecting were important subsistence activities along with food cropping, although in recent years they have declined as canned meat and fish have become more easily obtainable. Settlement therefore tended to concentrate along the most productive shores; in Tongatapu, for instance, over 70 per cent of the villages are located along the low northern shore and around the lagoon, the areas considered to be the most productive in seafoods, while in Ha'apai, which has particularly extensive reefs and fishing grounds, only the very smallest islands or those without *kelefatu* soils have failed to attract settlement. Conversely, in 'Eua the surrounding reef is narrow and sometimes dangerous and the offshore waters deep and unsheltered, and until recently the island, despite its size, had only a tiny population. Population densities were therefore higher where shores and reefs were productive but the land area limited, as in western Tongatapu, Ha'apai and parts of southern and eastern Vava'u, than where productive shores were backed by extensive areas of land, as in central and eastern Tongatapu. The lowest population densities were along unproductive shores, as in 'Eua, western Vava'u and parts of the south coast of Tongatapu.

This subsistence-orientated distribution of population in the past has by now been considerably modified by internal migration, which constitutes the second broad explanation of the present population pattern. Internal migration is largely directed towards Nuku'alofa, the capital, central and eastern Tongatapu and 'Eua, and away from western Tongatapu, Ha'apai, Vava'u and Niuaotoputapu. It reflects movement in search of employment, education, land for cash cropping, and the attractions of urban life and is a result of the growing regional inequalities in development and opportunities within Tonga. Further discussion of migration, however, will be left to a later section, where it is examined in the context of the response of Tongans to population pressure. The main effect of internal migration on the earlier pattern of population distribution has been to reduce the contrasts between central and eastern Tongatapu and the long standing areas of high population density, but as migration appears to be continuing at a high rate further changes in population distribution can be expected.

Having outlined the main elements of land resources and population distribution we may now turn to the question of population

[430 cont.]

175 made of reeds, diagonally plaited in an elegant taste. A door,
351 which consisted of several boards, and was hung on a rope instead
417 of hinges, gave admittance into a plantation on each side. We
175 separated, in order to examine this beautiful country, and at
123 every step had reason to be well pleased with our discoveries. The
175 door was so contrived as to shut after us without any assistance,
351 and the enclosures were over-run with climbers, and especially a
137 bind-weed, having flowers of a beautiful sky-blue. The prospect
[417] now changed into an extensive garden, where we saw a number of
tufted shaddock-trees, tall coco-palms, many bananas, and a few
bread-fruit trees. In the midst of this spot the path led us to a
dwelling-house, like that on the lawn, surrounded by a great variety
[124] of shrubs in blossom, whose fragrance filled the air. We roamed
through [431] these bushes, and collected a variety of plants which
175 we had never met with in the Society Isles. The inhabitants seemed
123 to be of a more active and industrious disposition than those of
609 Taheitee, and instead of following us in great crouds wherever we
[181] went, left us entirely by ourselves, unless we entreated them to
[171] accompany us. In that case we could venture to go with our pockets
open, unless we had nails in them, upon which they set so great a
175 value that they could not always resist the temptation. We passed
351 through more than ten adjacent plantations or gardens, separated
● 361 by enclosures, communicating with each other by means of the doors
before mentioned. In each of them we commonly met with a house,
175 of which the inhabitants were absent. Their attention to separate
181 their property seemed to argue a higher degree of civilization than
[171] we had expected. Their arts, manufactures, and music were all more

[442 cont.]

175 the bottom of which we perceived a little mount with two huts
764 upon it. A number of reeds stuck into the ground, at the distance
[487] of one foot asunder, encompassed this rising, and several
[417] casuarinas, with their slender branches and thread-like leaves,
[137] were planted before it. The natives, whom we had engaged to
accompany us, would not approach this mount; but we advanced and
looked into the huts, though with great difficulty, because the
bottom of the roof was not above a span from the ground. We found
a corse in one of these huts, which had been lately deposited; but
175 the other was [443] empty. Thus the casuarina or club-wood (toa),
764 here, as in the Society Islands, pointed out the repositories of the
137 dead. Its dull brownish-green colour, and its long spreading branches,
171 where the leaves are thinly scattered and hang weeping down,
certainly become these melancholy places to the full as well as the
175 funereal cypress. It is therefore probable that the same train of
764 ideas, which consecrated the latter in one part of the world to shade
181 the tombs, might fix upon the former in these regions for a similar
175 purpose. The mount on which the huts were placed was formed of
764 small pieces of coral rock, like gravel, accumulated without any
175 particular order. From thence we proceeded a little farther, and
311 still found the same elegant plantations and the same kind of houses
361 in the middle as before. Our natives conducted us through one of
175 them, where they entreated us to sit down, and procured some coco
609 nuts, which proved extremely refreshing. At our return we found
175 our boats just ready to put off, and embarked with them immediately.
123 [609] We had only seen a few of the natives on our walk, who passed un-
concernedly by us towards the place where the captains traded; and

[168 cont.]

133 and tufts of trees, which gave them a most enchanting appearance.
 137 The houses were seen in great numbers among the trees on the beach,
 175 and the islands had an air of happiness and affluence. One of these
 361 little gardens rose at its east end into a white perpendicular cliff,
 181 with something like horizontal strata. At our distance it looked
 175 like the bastion of a ruined fort, and being fringed [169] with
 131 woods and palms, formed altogether a romantic view. Towards noon
 175 the wind slackened, and canoes put off from different islands to visit
 609 us, though they were above a league distant. Some of them worked so
 175 hard, that they were near us in less than an hour; and when they were
 about to musket-shot off, they began to call to us from time to time,
 still continuing to paddle towards us. Three persons were in the
 canoe, exactly like the natives of Ea-oowhe and Tonga-Tabboo, whom
 499 we had seen in October, 1773. When they were along side, a few beads
 175 and nails were presented to them, for which they immediately sent a
 182 bunch of bananas, and some delicious shaddocks (citrus decumanus) on
 609 the deck, besides a bunch of the red fruits of the palm-nut tree or
 392 pandang (athrodactylis) which is a sign of friendship. This being
 done, they sold us all the shaddocks and fruit which they had, and
 609 came on board. In the mean while the other canoes arrived, and acted
 175 without the least caution, as if we had been long acquainted. They
 103 taught us the names of all the islands in the neighbourhood, that
 175 with the high cliff they called Terrefetches; the other, which we
 admired so much for its beauty, Tonoomes: both these lay to the east-
 ward of us. Mango-nooe (great) and Mango-eetee (little) were two
 islands to the west of us; and to the S.W. beyond them lay Namoka-
 nooe and Namoka-eetee; the first of which Tasman has called Rotterdam

The Village and the Research Scene

101 The village selected for research is on the main island of the
 103 Tonga group, Tonatapu. Its name is Puke (pronounced Pookay, please).
 (361) Gifford (1926: 196) in his catalogue of Tongan place names enters Puke
 as the gloss of fortress.^A However, the term has several seemingly un-
 related definitions in the Tongan language; the villagers thought the
 name referred to a small hill in the village as the term denotes the
 small hill above a planted yam. The village is located about 3 miles
 (361) west of Nuku'alofa; it is 1/4 mile from the main road going west from
 (131) Nuku'alofa and about twice that distance from the lagoon to the north
 (See Map 2).

133 The terrain of the village and surrounding lands is flat and low-
 lying. Village boundaries are easily distinguishable as fallow, and
 361
 (241) producing garden plots stop abruptly at the perimeters of the village
 compound. For some purposes the village and its population are divided
 into three geographically defined sections. The sections are the east-
 ern section (vahe hahake), the central section (vahe loto), and the west-
 ern section (vahe hihifo); the sections are under the leadership of the
 noble, the church steward, and the town officer, respectively.

361 Within the village are small patches of low-lying bush and many
 245 trees have been left standing or planted; most prominent among the lat-
 ter are the coconut palm (niu), breadfruit (mei), mangoe (mango), and
 (324) tje tava and 'ifi trees. Many of the plants and trees growing within
 (262) the village have uses as food, medicine, or decoration.
 (278)

^A [What Gifford actually says is "the outworks of a fortress". See 4: Gifford, this file. p.196--Analyst]

Plants of Tonga¹

By T. G. YUNCKER

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INTRODUCTION

The Tongan archipelago is a group of 150 or more islands and islets of volcanic and coral formation. Of these, only a relatively small number are sufficiently large or topographically suitable for plantations adequate to support populations of any size. Most of the islands are arranged in three main, roughly circumscribed, areas situated in the southern, central, and northern parts of the archipelago known as the Tongatapu, Ha'apai, and Vava'u groups respectively. The islands of these three groups are arranged in two roughly parallel lines from slightly southwest to northeast in the south Pacific Ocean between 15° and 23° south latitude and 173° and 177° west longitude. To the north, and somewhat remote from the northern Vava'u group, lie the volcanic islands of Niuafo'ou, Tafahi, and Niuaupoutapu (Keppel). The islands of the eastern line are the more numerous and are of coral origin. For the most part, they are low, flat, and topographically uninteresting. The western line, extending from the extreme southern and at present uninhabited island of 'Ata to Niuafo'ou on the north, is of volcanic origin. It includes the island of Kao in the Ha'apai group which rises to a height of about 1,000 meters, the highest of the Tongan islands. Some of the islands—for example, Tofua, Fonualei, and Niuafo'ou—are still volcanically active. Tongatapu, the largest of the coral islands, with an area of nearly 100 square miles, is very flat and reaches an altitude of scarcely 90 meters at its highest point. On it is located Nuku'alofa, which is the largest town in Tonga and the seat of government (fig. 1, a). ^[101] ^[133] ^[13] ^[101] ^[133] ^[341]

A few miles to the east of Tongatapu lies the island of 'Eua, about 35 square miles in area and composed of a volcanic base overlaid for the most part with limestone. It has been built up to a height of approximately 300 meters at its highest point. An elevated ridge runs along the eastern side of the island, rendering that coast rugged and very picturesque (fig. 1, b). The seaward face of this ridge is precipitous in places, and some parts are reached only with great difficulty. A much lower ridge, with a maximum height of about 100 meters, lies toward the western side. The ridges and slopes, especially those on the eastern side, are well covered with native vegetation. Here, one finds some of the largest trees and densest forests in all Tonga. Specimens of ^[133] ^[131] ^[137]

¹ The opportunity to visit the Tongan Islands and collect the data upon which this study is based was made possible by a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship and a grant from the National Science Foundation. The manuscript was completed in 1953 and submitted to Bishop Museum for publication. ^[122]

[p. 3]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

Yuncker—Plants of Tonga

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Laportea harveyi, *Rhus taitensis*, *Alphitonia zizyphoides*, *Dysoxylum* spp., 137
and other trees may reach considerable size. Tongatapu and 'Eua are the only 101
permanently inhabited islands of the Tongatapu group.

The central, or Ha'apai, group is about 90 miles from Tongatapu. It in- 131
cludes the main islands of Lifuka, the former capital and site of the Chief's 101
Palace; Nomuka; Kao; Tofua; and a large number of smaller islands, many
of which now support no permanent inhabitants.

Vava'u, the largest and principal island of the Vava'u group, has an area 133
of approximately 35 square miles and reaches an altitude of about 150 meters
along the precipitous northern coast. Its surface is uneven and the southern, 504
very irregularly and deeply indented coastline provides a beautiful and com- 361
pletely land-locked harbor, where the principal town of Neiafu is situated. At
the northwestern part of the island is a lake of brackish water and nearby is a
rather large swamp of marshy area unique in the islands. Another, a large
central lake connected at one point with the sea during high water, is found
on the island of Nomuka in the Ha'apai group. Large crater lakes also occur
on Tofua and on Niuafo'ou. Ocean-going steamers are able to dock at Neiafu 504
in Vava'u and at Nuku'alofa on Tongatapu. Cutters and interisland boats can
reach a jetty at the village of Pangai on Lifuka Island in the Ha'apai group,
and it is possible for very small boats to make a landing at a makeshift dock
on 'Eua. And it is usually possible, in moderate seas, to get ashore from
canoes or other small boats on the other low coral islands. It is much more 504
difficult, however, to land on the volcanic islands of Tofua, Kao, Late, Niua- 133
fo'ou, or Tafahi where most of the coast is steep and abrupt and where pro-
tecting reefs are lacking or do not break the often strong wave action. These
islands can be reached only by canoe or small boat and under most favorable
weather conditions, or by swimming from larger boats which must stand well
off shore for safety.

The population of Tonga is nearly 50,000. It is heavily concentrated on 161
the islands of 'Eua, Tongatapu, Nomuka, Lifuka, and Vava'u and some of the 162
smaller adjacent islands. The volcanic islands of 'Ata, Tofua, Kao, Late, and
Niuafo'ou have few or no permanent inhabitants at the present time. The 731
former population of about 1,300 on Niuafo'ou was evacuated after the dis- 166
astrous volcanic eruption in 1946, and at present makes up a large part of the
population on 'Eua. (See figure 2.)

The more heavily populated islands show a high percentage of land utiliza- 137
tion, the indigenous plant species surviving only in occasional uncultivable 131
areas, usually near the sea. Everywhere grows a number of species of greater
or lesser usefulness presumably brought to the islands by the aborigines as
they arrived in Tonga from other islands. These species predominantly show
Asiatic, African, or Malaysian origin. A possible exception is the sweet potato,
and there is considerable question as to how it reached Polynesia. In this group
one may include that most useful of all plants for island peoples, the coconut.

1 *Traditional Polity in Tonga*

Near the centre of the 70,000,000 square miles of the Pacific Ocean lies the smallest kingdom in the world, Tonga. Situated 1,100 miles north-east of New Zealand and 420 miles south-east of Fiji, it consists of more than 150 small islands which are scattered between 15° and 23° south latitude and 173° and 177° west longitude. The kingdom is divided into three main island groups, Tongatapu to the south, Ha'apai in the centre, and Vava'u to the north. The total area of the whole group is 269 square miles, though only thirty-six of the islands are inhabited by the population which numbered about 90,000 in 1972, 97.5 per cent of whom are native and belong to the Polynesian race. Using oral traditions, particularly genealogies, ethnohistorians have concluded that the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Tonga arrived at the group from Samoa in A.D.950 (Gifford 1929:50; Wood 1932:6). However, recent archaeological and linguistic evidence suggests that Tonga has been occupied for a much longer period and was settled probably from the north-west rather than from Samoa (see Green 1966:6-38; Groube 1971:278-316).

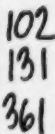
Long before the coming of the Wesleyan missionaries to Tonga there was a highly organised socio-political system somewhat similar to that found in other Polynesian societies, based on the rule of the chiefs. However, Tonga was unique in Polynesia, and in the Pacific as a whole, in that it had a traditional monarchical system under the headship of the Tu'i Tonga. In fact, the institution of Tu'i Tonga had developed through the years into something similar to the Dalai Lama of Tibet and the Mikado of Japan.

Originally, the whole of Tonga was under the sovereignty of the Tu'i Tonga. The first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, who began his rule in Tonga in about A.D.950, was believed to be the son of Tangaloa, the god of the sky, and an earthly mother (Gifford 1924:25, 38; Wood 1932:5) thereby encompassing in his person

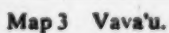
(1822-1875)

OU9 Tonga OU9

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Map 2 Tongatapu. A. Hule. B. Ngele'ia. C. Poha.



Map 3 Vava'u.

22 CHURCH AND STATE IN TONGA

643 had been vacant since the death of his father, Tu'i Tonga Fuanu-
nuiava, in 1810. When the Wesleyan missionaries started work in
[197] Tonga, therefore, first in 1822 and then in 1826, there was neither
a Tu'i Tonga nor a Tu'i Kanokupolu.

634 There were several important developments from this political
turbulence. One of these was the emergence of Vava'u and
Ha'apai as unified regional political units with their own inde-
pendent and central authorities vested in the Tu'i Vava'u and
Tu'i Ha'apai respectively. On the other hand, Tongatapu was
still fragmented and actual power rested with local chiefs.

361 The long-drawn-out civil war and the increasing impossibility
of defending isolated hamlets against European guns and muskets
669 gradually forced the people to move into fortified places called
722 *kolotau*. Out of these sprang the modern villages of Tonga which
are called *kolo*.

565 During this period also there was a marked change in the
chiefs' treatment of the common people. It had become increas-
ingly harsh, to the point of being intolerably cruel, inhuman and
arbitrary. They came to regard the commoners as mere chattels
to be used exclusively for their own benefit. The following
634 incidents were typical:
565

Finow, observing one of the natives busily employed cutting out the
iron fid from the maintop gallant-mast, and as he was a low fellow,
whom he did not choose should take such a liberty, he was resolved
to put a stop to his work. Calling to a Sandwich islander, who was
amusing himself on deck by firing off his musket, he ordered him to
bring that man down from aloft. Without the least hesitation,
the Sandwicher levelled his piece, and instantly brought him down
dead; upon which Finow laughed heartily, and seemed mightily pleased
at the facility with which his order had been obeyed. The shot
entered his body, and the fall broke both thighs and fractured his
skull. Afterwards, when Mr Mariner understood the language, he asked
the king how he could be so cruel as to kill the poor man for so
trifling a fault. His majesty replied, that he was only a low, vulgar
fellow (a cook); and that neither his life nor death was of any
consequence to society. (Martin 1827, I:68)

Teukava of Kolovai, on the occasion of a festival, 'arranged in
a circle a group of men suffering with elephantiasis of the testicles
and went about with a hook, pulling their privates out into view'.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)

OU9 Tonga OU9

THE CONSOLIDATION 81

mission centres because it was more convenient to live close to the schools. Still others were attracted by the medical services which the missionaries provided. The missionaries claimed that one of the places thus created was Nuku'alofa, the present capital of Tonga, and were very proud of it. Amos wrote of its development:

The modern town of Nukualofa is purely a creation of Christianity; and . . . its present population has been gathered by the gospel alone . . . Nukualofa was ever an obscure village, with a small population of less than one hundred persons, (except when fortified in time of war as a place of refuge for other villages,) until the *lotu* collected from all parts of the island a population peculiarly its own, which now amounts to upwards of one thousand two hundred; and the reigning Tuikanokubolu has constituted it the metropolis of his ocean empire. Thus Christian Missions are founding cities, each of which, we hope, will become 'an eternal excellency, the joy of many generations'. (*W-M Mag.*, 1854:870)

Some new centres were established as a result of the persecution of Christian converts who were driven from their own villages. Some of these joined Christian villages or towns, but others started new settlements. The village of Fatai in Tongatapu was established by a man who had been driven out of Houma on account of his conversion. This redistribution of population in Tonga was a spontaneous response of the people to the new demands and challenges which confronted them, in marked contrast to what happened in Tahiti, for example, where the L.M.S. missionaries deliberately tried to move the people from their traditional habitats into new villages where mission activities were centred.

In the Christian towns and villages in Tonga the missionaries were able to exert considerable influence upon the growing Christian population, and as things began to settle, a new set of superstitious beliefs began to gather round Christianity itself. Natural disasters, sickness and misfortunes were now attributed many to the anger of Jehovah, and prosperity and good health to His good will. As the missionaries were viewed as men of God their property was regarded as sacred. The mission property and the Bible in particular were held in utmost reverence. The old

6

*Tonga*¹

EQUALITY OVERTAKING PRIVILEGE

ALARIC MAUDE

423 THE SYSTEM of land tenure which has existed in the Kingdom
 641 of Tonga since the late nineteenth century differs in many
 121 respects from those of other parts of the South Pacific, its two
 most distinctive features being that land rights are granted solely
 to individuals, and that every taxpayer (that is, every male
 Tongan aged sixteen years and over) is entitled to eight and
 one-quarter acres of agricultural land and a small town allotment
 on which to build his house. These features, and others described
 below, raise a number of questions. Does the present system
 differ significantly from that of the pre-contact past? How effective
 is it in practice, and does it provide a sound basis for agricultural
 development? Are tenure changes necessary to cope with the
 present rapid population growth? This chapter attempts to
 answer these questions.

131 The 150 islands of Tonga are scattered over 450 miles of ocean
 [161] in Western Polynesia. With a total land area of only 256 square
 133 miles they support a population of about 80,000 persons. The
 [433] Kingdom's only natural resources are the soil and the surround-
 [361] ing reefs and seas, and the economy is overwhelmingly agricul-
 tural. Over ninety per cent of Tongans live in the three main
 groups of Tongatapu, Ha'apai and Vava'u, where the islands
 are of raised limestone formation. The surface of Tongatapu is
 flat or very gently undulating and as in all the islands of this
 type there are no permanent streams. The islands of Ha'apai
 are small, low and scattered, while those of Vava'u are higher
 134 and have a terraced appearance. About eighty-five per cent of
 the total land area of the raised limestone islands is suitable for
 cultivation, and the soils, being largely derived from volcanic
 ash, are very fertile. The main soil type of these islands is a

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LAND TENURE IN THE PACIFIC

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[179] settling people on their farms, and to encourage movement to more sparsely populated districts, the Land Act of 1927 provided for the grant of twelve and three-eighths acres of agricultural land to men willing to forgo their town allotment. Little came of the provision, however, only twenty-three applications being received up to 1934, when the scheme was enlarged to permit grants of fifteen acres. Although several estates on Tongatapu were laid out in fifteen-acre holdings, population growth has led to all but one being resubdivided into eight-and-a-quarter-acre allotments, and a recent amendment has reduced the area that can be granted under this provision to ten acres.

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S65
178 Finally, there have been some changes in the estates. In 1882 hereditary estates (*tofi'a*) were granted to thirty-six titleholders, thirty of them nobles and six of them *matapule* who, although given estates, were not made nobles. Any land not granted to a noble or *matapule ma'u tofi'a* became the estate of the King, but in 1891 Tupou handed over most of this land to the government (Thomson 1894:231). Two more nobles were created and granted estates by Tupou II and one by Queen Salote. There are thus at present several types of estate: Royal estates belonging to the King, Royal Family estates held jointly by the Royal Family, hereditary estates belonging to the nobles and a few *matapule*, and government estates under the direct control of the Minister of Lands. About sixty per cent of the population lives on hereditary estates.

128 Having outlined the development of the system as it exists in law we may now attempt to assess its effectiveness in practice. The following sections will discuss the acquisition and holding of land, the distribution of agricultural land between households and individuals, and the question of individual tenure and its effect on agricultural production.

ACQUIRING AND HOLDING LAND

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[608] The most common and the easiest way to acquire land is through inheritance, but land cannot be willed and the heir to an allotment is determined by precise rules laid down in the Land Act. On the death of a landholder his widow is entitled to a life interest in her husband's town and tax allotments, but she loses this right if she remarries or is found by the Land Court to have committed fornication or adultery. This latter provision is occasionally used but in recent years actions based on it have rarely, if ever, been successful (see Hunter 1963:109-10).

TONGA

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The opportunities for developing non-agricultural employment for such people are strictly limited, and in any case wage rates at present assume that men are partly supporting themselves through agriculture. Now that the allocation of allotments is nearing completion discontent is already growing among those left without holdings. The second point is the need to ensure the efficient use of Tonga's limited resources of land, for by 1980 the overall population density will be about 640 persons per square mile of cultivable land, and the present low level of production and productivity in agriculture will have to be greatly increased if standards of living are to be maintained and improved.

One answer to the land problems of both the present and the future is to make as many allotments available as possible, and this includes continued government action to ensure that land is in fact allocated, particularly on hereditary estates, and that no one holds more than his legal entitlement. However, the maximum subdivision of all suitable land into eight-and-a-quarter-acre lots, leaving a small area reserved for the secondary schools and the Royal Family, would only increase the number of allotments to about 14,500. And about half of the additional holdings would be on the islands of Late (at present uninhabited), Niuatoputapu, Tafahi, and Niuafu'ou, islands which are unlikely to attract many settlers because of their isolation and lack of facilities. Division of the existing eight-acre allotments in half would increase the number of holdings to about 28,900, while raising the age of entitlement to land to twenty would reduce the number of men with a legal claim to an allotment, and few youths under twenty have any real need for their own land. This might be the fairest solution to the problem, since it would preserve the principle that each man is entitled to an allotment, but it would not necessarily lead to the most productive use of the land, for some allotments would be held by men who lacked either the inclination or the need to use their land effectively, while the efforts of the more enterprising commercial farmers would be further restricted.

The efficiency with which land is distributed and used might well be increased by varying the size of some allotments. The requirements of men permanently employed in urban occupations could be met by dividing holdings near the towns into one-acre garden lots and with the rapidly increasing population of Nuku'alofa this seems the only way in which land can be provided for urban dwellers. The alternative is substantially to increase wages, which does not seem economically possible, and

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SUCCESSION DISPUTES IN MODERN TONGA

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state, church, and education. As a surviving, highly visible sector of legally supported hereditary privilege, offering exclusive access to sources of wealth, influence, and power within the Tongan new order, the nobles are increasingly criticized by Tongans and outside observers as a source of injustice in a society that was created on the themes of emancipation and individual liberty. The tempo of such criticisms has increased significantly since the succession in 1965 of Tupou IV, who is committed to modernization and closer relations with other regional and world governments.

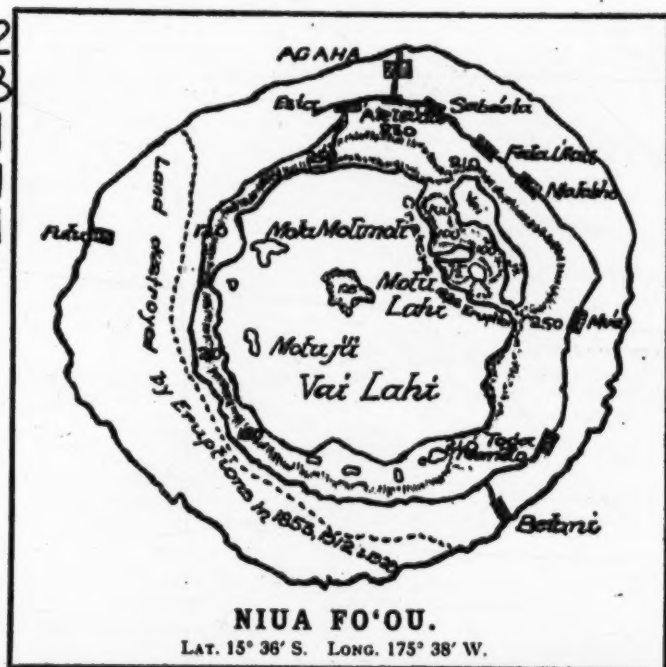
Although viewed stereotypically by some as an anachronistic and conservative segment of society, the nobility in terms of the composition and activities of its membership cannot be fairly characterized so one-dimensionally. As social historians have shown for old elites in the transformations of European societies (see Moore, 1967; Stone, 1965), the composition of Tonga's hereditary nobility, although fixed and rigid in principle, has been characterized by a degree in fluidity. Further, its response to generally modernizing and liberating changes has in fact revealed some degree of flexibility and accommodation.

Issues raised in the public litigation of noble succession, a matter determined by law and the Tongan Land Court, offer a perspective on the nature of the social composition of the nobility and also on the significance of the noble title system as a determinant of social status in modern Tonga. The purpose of this paper is to present a detailed account of noble succession disputes and to discuss what these disputes indicate concerning the position of the nobility in modern Tongan society. I have described the modern social contexts and activities of the nobility elsewhere (Marcus, 1975b).

Trends of Change in Tongan Society

The Kingdom of Tonga consists of an archipelago of 150 islands with a total area of 269 square miles. These islands are just west of the International Dateline, about 430 miles southeast of Suva, Fiji, a similar distance southwest of Western Samoa, and about 1,200 miles northeast of Auckland, New Zealand.

Only about 36 islands of the archipelago are inhabited, and these are clustered in three main groups: the southern or the Tongatapu group, including the single largest island of the Kingdom, Tongatapu, on which the port capital of Nuku'alofa is located; the middle or Ha'apai group of widely scattered small islands; and the northern or Vava'u group of islands. The rapidly increasing population has been estimated to have reached 100,000. In recent years, land shortage and rising aspirations, resulting from increased contacts with the outside, have been accompanied by marked increases both in internal migration from the outer islands to Tongatapu and in temporary and permanent migration abroad to countries such as New Zealand and the United States. The Tongan economy is predominantly agricultural, based on mixed-crop production by

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(11) NIUA FO'OU is the most remote island of the group, being much closer to Samoa and Fiji than to Togatabu. It is 109 miles W.N.W. of Niua Tobutabu and 211 miles N.W. of Vava'u. Niuu Fo'ou is almost circular and is 19 square miles in extent, including the lakes which cover six square miles. It rises to 588 feet and has a dangerous, dormant volcano whose more recent eruptions have occurred in 1853 (when 25 people were killed), in 1867, 1886, 1912 and 1929. The village of Ahau was destroyed in 1853 and Futu in 1929, and both sites have been abandoned.

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The last eruption is typical. On 25th July, 1929, a line of small craters opened up across the island on the western side, from the south-west coast to the north-west; these craters were so close that they formed almost a continuous line. Lava flowed down the western slopes to the sea, destroying nearly every building in Futu, and covering 2,000 acres which will be useless for cultivation for many years. The harbour at Futu is now cut off by the great lava-field. The people of Futu barely escaped with their lives and lost all their goods. They have since built a new village not far from Agaha named 'Alele'uta.

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There are little islands in the lakes of Niuu Fo'ou and little craters in those islands also. In some places in the lakes hot springs have been found, and in others the depth cannot be ascertained.

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American and New Zealand astronomers observed the total eclipse of the sun at Niuu Fo'ou on 23rd October, 1930.

Disastrous hurricanes frequently occur, and the island has been ravaged as recently as December, 1930, February, 1931, and March, 1932. During the hurricane season Niua Fo'ou is not visited by small craft. Though the island has been so repeatedly devastated by eruptions and storms, and its condition seems to be more dangerous than that, for instance, of the uninhabited large island of Tofua, still there is no intention of abandoning it for a safer home closer to the main islands of the group.

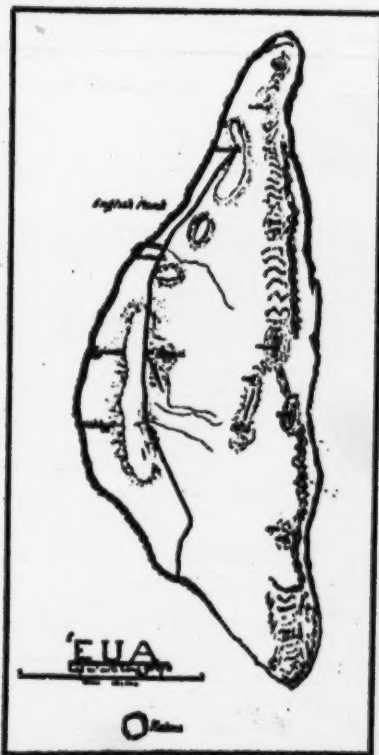
Its present population is 1,291. The inhabitants are a distinct type, with local variations of the Tongan language due to ancient contact with Samoa and Uvea, but more intercourse with the rest of the Tongan group is causing these old words to fall into comparative disuse.

The "Tin-can Mail" is Niua Fo'ou's claim to distinction. As the harbour at Agaha is inconvenient, and the sea is generally too rough for canoes, the mail is taken by swimmers to the steamer which passes from Samoa to Fiji. The outgoing mail is generally wrapped in oiled paper and tied to sticks, and the inward mail is brought back from the steamer in a sealed tin-can.

THE CHIEF CORAL ISLANDS, WITH SCENIC AND HISTORIC PLACES.

'EUA. This island, which is of great age geologically, reaches a height of 1,078 feet, and has an area of 33 square miles. Although it is as large as Vava'u and contains fertile soil in abundance, its population of 348 is most disproportionate. Its inadequate harbour at 'Ohonua and the sometimes dangerous channel between the island and Togatabu, though disadvantageous to the progress of 'Eua, do not really explain the decline in its population; this is due rather to the proximity of Nuku'alofa with its attractions. Considering that many small islands in Ha'abai support numerous taxpayers who have no allotments, the neglect of 'Eua is regrettable.

'Eua was called Middelburg by its discoverer, Tasman, and Cook had a high opinion of its beauty and fertility. This island is unique in several respects. It has several small creeks which rise from springs in the hillsides and descend to the western shore;



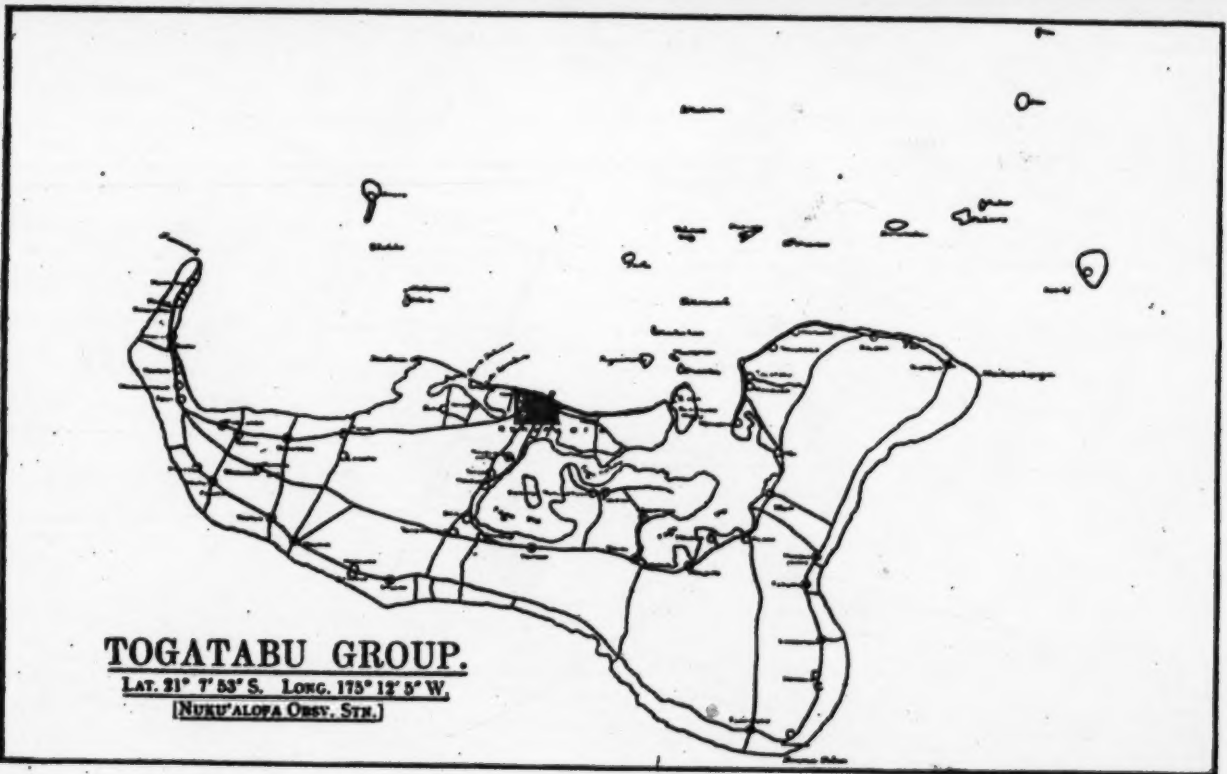
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Togatabu Group.



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and mobs of untended horses roam through the island. It contains varied scenery, valleys, and precipitous cliffs lining the eastern coast.

TOGATABU. This name (Sacred Tonga), as well as the others used by the people (Great Tonga and Chiefly Tonga), attests the importance of the largest island in the minds of generations of Tongans. From the foundation of Tonga to the present it has been the residence of the kings and the centre of religious and social life, and modern investigation has confirmed the native tradition that Togatabu was settled before Ha'abai and Vava'u. The island is 99 square miles in extent, with its extreme length 18½ miles and greatest breadth 9 miles. The southern coast is rather higher than the northern, where the capital, Nuku'alofa, is situated opposite the only openings in the reef which surrounds the island; but Togatabu generally is low, except in the east where the land rises to 270 feet. There are three main roads traversing the island from west to east and several cross-roads. The present population is 12,357, of whom 11,660 are pure Tongans.

Nuku'alofa is the capital, the residence of the sovereign, and the centre of government and trade for the whole group. The Palace and Royal Chapel are conspicuous buildings; and the royal dais in the chapel is finely carved. The tombs of the present line of kings are at Mala'e-kula, in the centre of the town. Behind the British Consulate is a hill (Zion), the site of the old fort described by Mariner.

Mu'a, which consists of two villages, Tatakamotoga and Labaha, was the ancient capital; the kings of the Tu'i Toga line after Tu'itatui resided at Labaha, as also did the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and the southern village of Tatakamotoga belonged to the Tu'i Kanokubolu. In Mu'a there was also a renowned enclosure, Fanakava, which was a sanctuary for refugees from justice. The most remarkable feature of the Mu'a district is the series of 28 tombs (lagi) of the ancient kings. Each of these is a rectangular structure, covering as much as three-fourths of an acre, with from three to five terraces in pyramidal form, built of blocks of stone the largest of which weigh 30 tons each. Many of these tombs are well-preserved and easily accessible, especially the Baebae of Tele'a, whose smooth surfaces and L-shaped corner-stones have won the admiration of experts. Such striking examples of the skill of ancient Tongan stone-masons afford one of the finest sights in the South Seas.

At the extreme east of the island, at Heketa near Niutoua, there is situated the famous trilithon known as the Ha'amoga-a-Mauli. This was built by the Tu'i Toga, Tu'itatui, about the year 1200, probably as a gateway. The upright stones are 17 feet high, and the cross-piece is 19 feet in length. Nearby are the stone where Tu'itatui sat, the Maka Fakina, and two tombs from the same period.

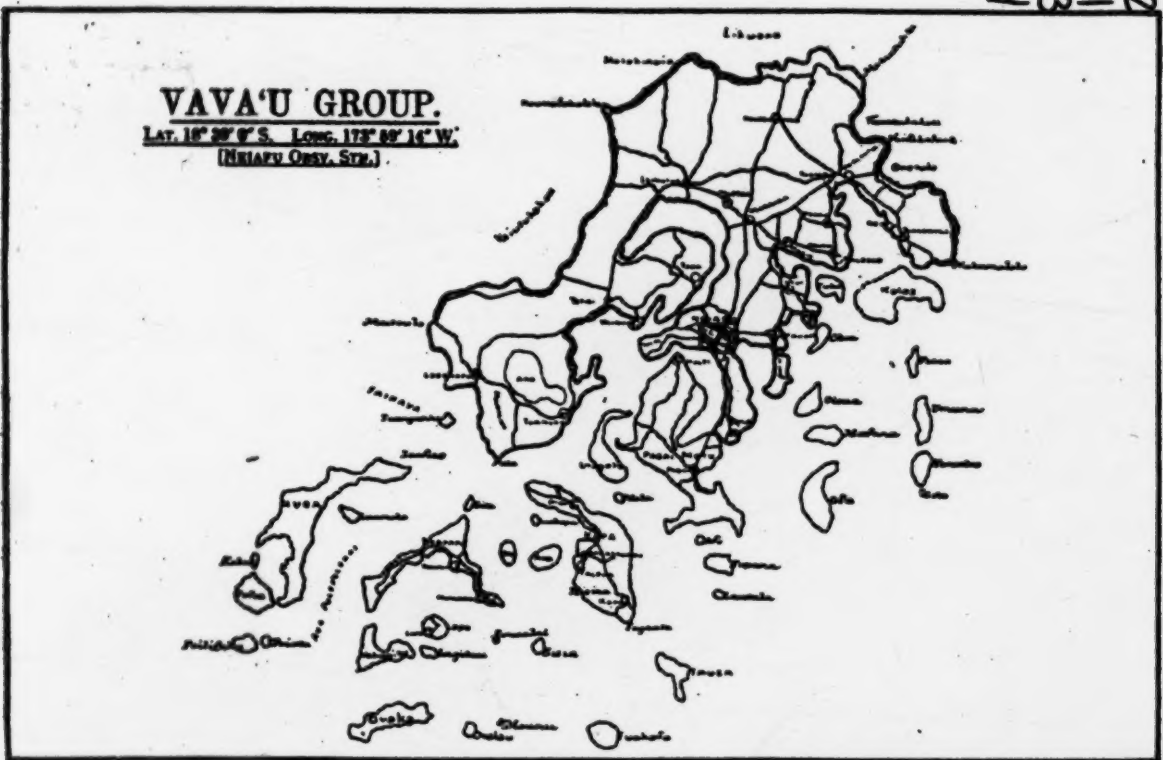
The remains of "Captain Cook's tree," called Malumalu 'o Fulilagi by the people, may be seen at Alaki. It was here that Cook was entertained in 1777 when he visited the Tu'i Toga and saw the presentation of first-fruits.

Stalactite caves near Haveluliku on the southern coast, like those found in other parts of Tonga, seem to have been used for burials in ancient times.

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Vava'u Group.



'Uiha is the burial-place of great chiefs, including Tubouniua, Tubouto'a, Tevita 'Uga and Vuna. The finest mound ('eji) in Tonga, named Maka Hokovalu, is situated on the north-west of this island. The village of 'Uiha also boasts six cannon taken from a kidnapping ship which met its merited doom while making a raid on the island about the middle of the 19th century.

Tugua was the residence of the highest personage in ancient Tongan society, the Tamaha.

Nomuka, in the south of the group, was visited by more voyagers than any other island in Tonga. The pond of fresh water from which Tasman, Cook, Bligh and others took supplies is readily pointed out.

Navigation lights have been placed at Muifuiva, in the south, and at Muiotoa, Ha'ano, in the north of Ha'abai. Some islands cannot be approached in bad weather. Many of the smallest ones are uninhabited, though there are various traces of former habitation or of use for plantations or burial-places at Ofolaga, Kelelesia and the 'Otu Tolu.

VAVA'U OR HA'AFULUHAO. Three-fifths of this beautiful northern group is in one island, 'Uta Vava'u, but the remaining islands are only separated from the mainland by narrow channels. All these islands are comparatively high and undulating, thickly-wooded and very fertile. The highest point is 870 feet. From the hill called Talau, behind the chief town, Neiafu, a magnificent panorama can be obtained, embracing all the islands in the group. Along the northern coast of the main island there are very fine views from the high cliffs at the seat ('eji) of Salote near Hologa and at Ha'alaufuli.

The harbour of the main island is one of the most picturesque in the Pacific, though shallows and sandbanks make navigation difficult in some places. The Swallows' Cave, often visited by tourists, is on the north of Kaba. The secret cave, entered only by diving, which Mariner's story and Byron's poem have made famous, is situated on the north of the island of Nuababu; here the young chief left his bride until they could embark for Fiji and be safe from the wrath of their relatives.

Neiafu, the port and residence of the governor, is beautifully situated, and good roads radiate from this centre. Until recently at least the average prosperity of the natives in Vava'u was rather higher than in other parts of the group, and they have expended their resources on European houses and European food to a greater extent than elsewhere. Vava'u is not as subject to hurricanes as the more northerly islands of Niua Fo'ou and Niua Tobutabu, but nevertheless it has suffered rather frequently, the last occasion being 13th March, 1932.

It is remarkable that Vava'u was the last part of Tonga to be discovered, the honour falling to the Spaniard, Maurelle, in 1781.

Various places recall the incidents mentioned in Mariner's history, and especially Feletoa, where the great fight of Finau Ulukalala II took place and where Finau himself was buried in 1809. Parts of the great trench, and also a cave and underground river, may be seen at Feletoa.

An ancient but incredible tradition states that a long wall of coral stones at Makave, known as the Kilikilitefua, was made by casting a stone for every first-born son in the district.

206 Wireless stations have been established at Nuku'alofa, Lifuka (Ha'abai), Vava'u, Niua Fo'ou and Niua Tobutabu; only the first station has communication with other countries. There is also a telephone service at Nuku'alofa.

494 The advent of motor traffic has made the improvement of roads necessary, and these have been built with the only available stone, coral limestone.
491

VITAL STATISTICS, EDUCATION AND RELIGION.

161 The estimated population, full-blooded Tongans only, on 31st December, 1931, was 29,157. Tonga is one of the comparatively few Pacific Island groups where the population is steadily increasing. There is no justification for imagining that the population of Tonga has ever reached 30,000, but rather the indications are that, even in the most prosperous times before the coming of Europeans, it did not exceed 25,000. The present figures may therefore be taken as the highest level which the Tongan population has reached, and there is no fear that the country cannot support a population continuing to increase at the present rate for several decades.

162 Reference is sometimes made to Cook's statement that 10,000
175 people were present at the festival held in his honour at Togatabu, and
161 3,000 at Lifuka. Especially bearing in mind the visitors who would come from other islands for such a unique event, these figures certainly do not justify a belief in a greater population than the present. The land seemed
● 361 then to be better occupied as the people were spread out over their gardens, there being no villages until the Civil War period.
175

161 Wilkes received an estimate from the missionaries in 1840, and this may be compared with the Government statistics in this century, noting the effects of the pneumonic influenza epidemic in 1918-19 and the way in which the loss of 1,000 lives then has since been more than redeemed (these figures are for full-blooded Tongans only):
[165]

1840	18,500 (excluding the two Niuas)
1900	20,019
1911	21,712
1917	24,245
1918	23,842
1919	22,689
1920	23,128
1924	25,109
1927	26,597
1929	27,660
1930	28,431
1931	29,157

161 The Police Census of 27th April, 1931, gives a total of 28,839, comprising 27,700 Tongans (this involving a discrepancy with the estimate of the Registrar of Births and Deaths), 482 Europeans, 265 half-castes, 336 other Pacific Islanders, 56 foreigners, mostly Asiatics.
162

563 Racial inter-marriage is not so common at the present time; nevertheless, a considerable proportion of those officially classed as "full-

APPENDIX E.

A COMPLETE LIST OF THE ISLANDS AND VILLAGES OF TONGA.

NOTE. All islands are classed as of coral formation, except those marked (V) denoting volcanic origin.

The heights of the low islands are approximate only, as indicated from charts.

Particulars of population are from the Police Census of 27th April, 1931.

<i>Island.</i>	<i>Height (in ft.).</i>	<i>Area (in acres).</i>	<i>Villages.</i>	<i>Estate (Tofa).</i>	<i>Population.</i>
(1) 'ATA (V) [PYLSTAART].	1,165	560			
(2) SOUTHERN GROUP: TOGATABU AND 'EUA.					
'Eua	1,078	21,604 (33.7 sq.m.)	5 'Ohonua Houma Bagai Kolomaile (Ha'atua) Tufuvai	Government Royal Estate Ve'ehala Government Government	348 193 37 31 55 32
Togatabu	270	63,516 (99.3 sq.m.)	60 22 in the Eastern Division: Niuatoua Afa Kologa Manuka	Government Government Nuku Government	12,357 141 64 330 38

Height, Area, Villages and Population of Islands.

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Height, Area, Villages and Population of Islands.

APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

Island.	Height (in ft.).	Area (in acres).	Villages.	Estate (Tofa).	Population.
SOUTHERN GROUP: TOGATABU (continued).			Navutoka	Tugi	161
			Talafo'ou	Lauaki	
			and Makauga	Jioeli Bagia	235
			Nukuleka	Jioeli Bagia	103
			Hoi	Jioeli Bagia	125
			Talasiu	Tu'ilakeba	50
			Mu'a { Labaha	Jioeli Bagia	505
			{ Tatakamotoga	Tugi	575
			Alakifonua	Tu'ibelehake	164
			Hologa	Government	147
			Malabo	Luani	103
			Fua'anotu	Tugi	270
			Nakolo	Luani	89
			Ha'asini	Government	
			and Hamula	Jioeli Bagia	171
			Lavegatoga	Tugi	31
			Fatumu	Tugi	108
			Haveluliku	Tugi	29
			26 in the Central Division:		
			Vaini	Ma'afu	254
			Logoteme	Veikune	113
			Folaha	Government	210
			Nukuhetulu	Government	94
			Veitogo	Government	224
			Ha'ateiho	Tu'ihateiho	159
			Bea	Lavaka	167

APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).				
<i>Island.</i>	<i>Height (in ft.).</i>	<i>Area (in acres).</i>	<i>Villages.</i>	<i>Estate (Tofa). Population.</i>
SOUTHERN GROUP: TOGATABU (continued).			Tokomololo and Fonogahina	Ma'afu Lasike 165
			Koloua	Government 76
			and Tofoa	Government 85
			Haveluloto	Fielakeba 1,555
			Nuku'alofa { Koloso'ou	Government 1,791
			{ Kolomotu'a	Government 633
			Ma'ofaga	Fakafanua 129
			Hofoa	Government 50
			Buke	Fohe
			Fatai	Government
			and Matafonua	Tu'ivakano 195
			Nukunuku	Tu'ivakano 382
			Vaotu'u	Tu'ivakano 175
			Lakeba	Lasike 92
			Houma	Vaea 427
			Ha'akame	Government 119
			Ha'alalo	Crown Prince
			and Utulau	Crown Prince 156
			12 in the Western Division :	
			Matahau	Tu'ivakano 110
			Fahefa	Ve'ehala
			and Ha'a'utu	Government 167
			and Kala'au	Government 106
			Te'ekiu	Motu'abuaka
			Masilamea	Government 76

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Heigh. Area, Villages and Population of Islands.

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87: Wood M.Y.-4, 5 (no date) 1932 009 Tonga 009

APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

Island.	Height (in ft.).	Area (in acres).	Villages.	Estate (Tofa).	Population.
SOUTHERN GROUP: TOGATABU (continued).					
Nukunukumotu		326	Fo'ui	Vaha'i	187
'Eua Iki ('Eueiki)	180	260	Ha'avakatolo	'Ahome'e	139
Atata	93	128	Kolovai	Ata	334
Tufaka	61	4	'Ahau	Govt. and Lasike	134
Alakibcau	60	2	Kanokubolu (Neiafu)	Royal Estate	162
Bolo'a	77	12	Ha'atafu	Government	100
Malinoa	51	2		Government	26
Fafa	72	23		Government	76
Velitoa (3)	59	5		Ata	50
'Onevai	54	25			
'Onevao	57	6			
Motutabu	74	33			
Makaha'a	65	9			
Monuafe		5			
Bagaimotu		33			
Manima	47	4			
'Oneata	87	14			
Mata'aho					
Kanatea		126			
Mo'ugatabu					
Golonua					

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Height, Area, Villages and Population of Islands. 99

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Estate (Tofa). Population.

APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

Island.	Height (in ft.).	Area (in. acres).	Villages.
SOUTHERN GROUP: TOGATABU (continued).			
'Atā		55	
Fukave		43	
Nuku		10	
Tau	30	5	
Toketoke			
Kalau	120	50	
(3) HUGA TOGA (V).	490	110	
HUGA HA'ABAI (V).	400	160	
(4) MIDDLE GROUP: HA'ABAI.			
(A) VOLCANIC GROUP.			
Falcon Island (V) [Fonua Fo'on]	365		
Tofua (V)	1,670	13,750 (21.4 sq.m.)	
Kao (V)	3,380	3,100 (4.8 sq.m.)	
(B) 'OTU TOLU GROUP.			
Telekitoga	53	110	
Telekiha'abai (Lalona)	67	70	
Telekivava'u	71	50	
(C) MU'OMU'A OR NOMUKA GROUP.			
Nomuka	166	1,763 (2.7 sq.m.)	Nomuka

6,410

Crown Prince

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Height, Area, Villages and Population of Islands.133
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APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

<i>Island.</i>	<i>Height (in ft.).</i>	<i>Area (in acres).</i>	<i>Villages.</i>	<i>Estate (Tofia).</i>	<i>Population.</i>
MU'OMU'A OR NOMUKA GROUP (continued).					
Mago	141	130	Mago	Royal Estate	63
Fonoifua	67	40	Fonoifua	Tu'iafitu	31
Nomuka Iki	147	167			
Mago Iki	68				
Fetokobuga	57				
Tonumea	138	30			
Nukufaiau	58	3			
Muifuiva	10	1			
Kelelesia	123	30			
Tano'a	57	3			
Nukutula	18	20			
(D) SOUTHERN HA'ABAI: LULUGA OR WESTERN GROUP.					
Ha'afeva	100	500	Ha'afeva	Tu'uhetoka	375
Kotu	120	40	Kotu	Government	110
Tugua	120	375	Tugua	Tu'iha'ateiho	228
'O'ua	140	240	'O'ua	Government	142
Matuku	100	83	Matuku	Tu'iha'ateiho	80
Butubutua	12	3			
Teaba	125	50			
Fetoa	125	40			
Kolo	50				
Kito	60	3			

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APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

<i>Island.</i>	<i>Height (in ft.).</i>	<i>Area (in acres).</i>	<i>Villages.</i>	<i>Estate (Tofa).</i>	<i>Population.</i>
SOUTHERN HA'ABAI: LULUGA OR WESTERN GROUP (continued).					
Foua	30	1			
Luanamo	75	6			
Fonuaika	65	5.			
Tokulu	15	3			
Kogaloto	20				
Fakahiku	65.	3			
Bebea	75				
Ono Iki	125				
Fono'imaka	6				
Lekeleka	60	30			
(E) NORTHERN HA'ABAI: HAAKE OR EASTERN GROUP.					
Lifuka	100	2,825 (4.4 sq.m.)	Bagai Togaleleka (Hihifo) Holobeka Koulo (Ha'atakalaui) Lotofoa Fagale'ouga Fotua (Alakifonua) Faleloa Lotoha'ano Muitoa Bukotala (Kanakana) Fakakakai	Royal Estate Government Tu'iafitu Government Royal Estate Niukabu Tu'ibelehake Tuita Tu'iha'agana Tu'iha'agana Tu'iha'agana Government	844 607 104 196 308 138 175 286 296 120 198 358
Foa	100	3,310 (5.1 sq.m.)			
Ha'ano	100	1,626 (2.5 sq.m.)			

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APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

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Height, Area, Villages and Population of Islands.

Island.	Height (in ft.).	Area (in acres).	Villages.	Estate (Tofa).	Population.
NORTHERN HA'ABAI: HAHAKE OR EASTERN GROUP (continued).					
'Uiha	100	1,326 (2.07 sq.m.)	'Uiha	Malubo	488
Lofaga	150	360	Felemea	Government	257
Fotuha'a	200	280	Lofaga	Crown Prince	252
Mo'uga'one	100	285	Fotuha'a	Government	128
Niniva	85	122	Mo'uga'one	Government	150
Ofolaga	90	220			
Buhi	20				
Luahoko	45	3			
Nukunamo	50	78			
Uoleva	100	741			
Luagahu	40	15			
Tatafa	90	78			
Tofoga	40				
Limu	40	10			
Uonuku Hahake	50	120			
Uonuku Hihifo	50	25			
Meama	105	5			
Nukubule	60	8			
Hakan'ata	60				
Fatumanogi	10				

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APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

Island.	Height (in ft.).	Area (in acres).	Villages.	Estate (Tofa).	Population.
(5) NORTHERN GROUP:					7,643
VAVA'U OR HA'AFULUHAO.					
'Uta Vava'u	670	22,179 (34.6 sq.m.)	22		
			Nciafu	Government	1,610
			Falaleu	Government	198
			Fugamisi	Government	73
			Toula	Government	101
			Makave	Tu'iafitu	156
			Utui	'Ahome'e	73
			Magia	Government	44
			Houma	Government	128
			Ha'akio	Government	111
			Ta'anea	Vaha'i	176
			Ha'alaufuli	Afu	344
			Tu'anekevile	Government	225
			Mataika	Government	217
			Feletoa	Fulivai	208
			Leimatu'a	Fotu	465
			Hologa	Royal Estate	241
			Taoa	Crown Prince	164
			Vaimalo	Government	103
			Tefisi	Luani	
			and Ga'akau	Fakafanua	208
			Logomabu	Veikune	208
			Tu'anuku	Finau Ulukalala	257
Ovaka	190	320	Ovaka	Government	186

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Height, Area, Villages and Population of Islands.

APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

<i>Island.</i>	<i>Height (in ft.).</i>	<i>Area (in acres).</i>	<i>Villages.</i>	<i>Estate (Tofa).</i>	<i>Population.</i>
NORTHERN GROUP: VAVA'U OR HA'AFULUHAO (continued).					
Tauga	155	90	Tauga	Akau'ola	110
Huga	245	1,160	Huga	Fulivai	328
Nuababu	210	660	Nuababu	Royal Estate	103
			Matamaka	Royal Estate	74
Labe	130	99	Labe	Government	26
Bagaimotu	290	2,188	Bagai	Royal Estate	250
		(3.4 sq.m.)	Utulei	Royal Estate	104
Utugake	290	230	Utugake	Tuita	170
			Ga'unoho	Government	78
Kaba	345	1,475	Falevai		
		(2.3 sq.m.)	and Vakataumai	Fakatulolo	192
			Otea	Government	173
			Kaba	Government	152
Koloo	160	555	Koloo		
			and Holeva	Government	145
Okoo		85	Okoo	Tu'ilakeba	124
'Olo'ua		120	'Olo'ua	Government	45
Ofu	110	310	Ofu	Tu'ilakeba	170
Late (V)	1,700	4,300			
		(6.7 sq.m.)			
Maninita	55	7			
Taula	55	10			
Luaafuleheu	60	15			
Luahiabo	55	12			
Luaivaha	55	1			

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Estate. (Tofia). Population.

APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

<i>Island.</i>	<i>Height (in ft.).</i>	<i>Area (in acres).</i>	<i>Villages.</i>
NORTHERN GROUP: VAVA'U OR HA'AFULUHAO (continued).			
Fua'amotu	135	60	
Fonua'one'one	75	25	
Fatumaga	85		
'Eueiki	175	45	
'Euakafa	270	128	
Mu'omu'a	135	10	
Fagasito	60		
Ovalau	110	23	
Mo'unu	3	2	
Bau	75	3	
Ta'uta	135	3	
Gau	90	8	
Luatafito	40	2	
Fonuafo'ou	25		
Fonua'uga	25		
Katafaga	96		
Sisia	110	23½	
Fonnalei	80	3	
Fofoa	255	184	
Kalau	195	12	
Luamoko	230	34	
Luafatu	110	4	
Vaka'eitu	200	152	
Lagitau	130	20	
Tu'ugasika	225	17	

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APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

Island.	Height (in ft.).	Area (in acres).	Villages.	Estate (Tofia).	Population.
NORTHERN GROUP: VAVA'U OR HA'AFULUHAO (continued).					
Foelufuka	125	64			
Foeata	125	25			
Lotuma	80	2			
Ava	155	128			
Luakaba	120	12			
Ota	200	52			
Nuku	60	8			
Fafoa	140	65			
Tulie					
Kiato		4			
Mafana	135	128			
Umuna	145	128			
Kenutu	135	107			
Lolo	30	6			
Toku	86	150			
Fonualei (V)	600	465			
(6) NIUA TOBUTABU (V) [KEPPEL].	350	3,697 (5.7 sq.m.)	Hihifo and Matavai Vaiboa Falehau	Ma'atu Tagiba and Ma'atu Royal Estate	790 470 181 92
Hugaga Tāvili Hakautu'utu'u }		139			

APPENDIX E (CONTINUED):

Island.	Height (in ft.).	Area (in acres).	Villages.	Estate (Tofa).	Population.
NIUATOBUTABU (continued).					
Tafahi (V) [Boscawen]	2,000	822	Tafahi	Government	47
(7) NIUA FO'OU (V).	588	12,422 (19.4 sq.m.)	9		1,291
			Agaha	Fotofili and Fujitu'a	213
			Mu'a	Fotofili	129
			Togamama'o	Government	141
			Saba'ata	Fujitu'a	127
			Mata'aho	Royal Estate	105
			Fata'ulua	Government	146
			Betani	Government	128
			Esia	Government	140
			Futu (now 'Alele'uta)	Tuita	162

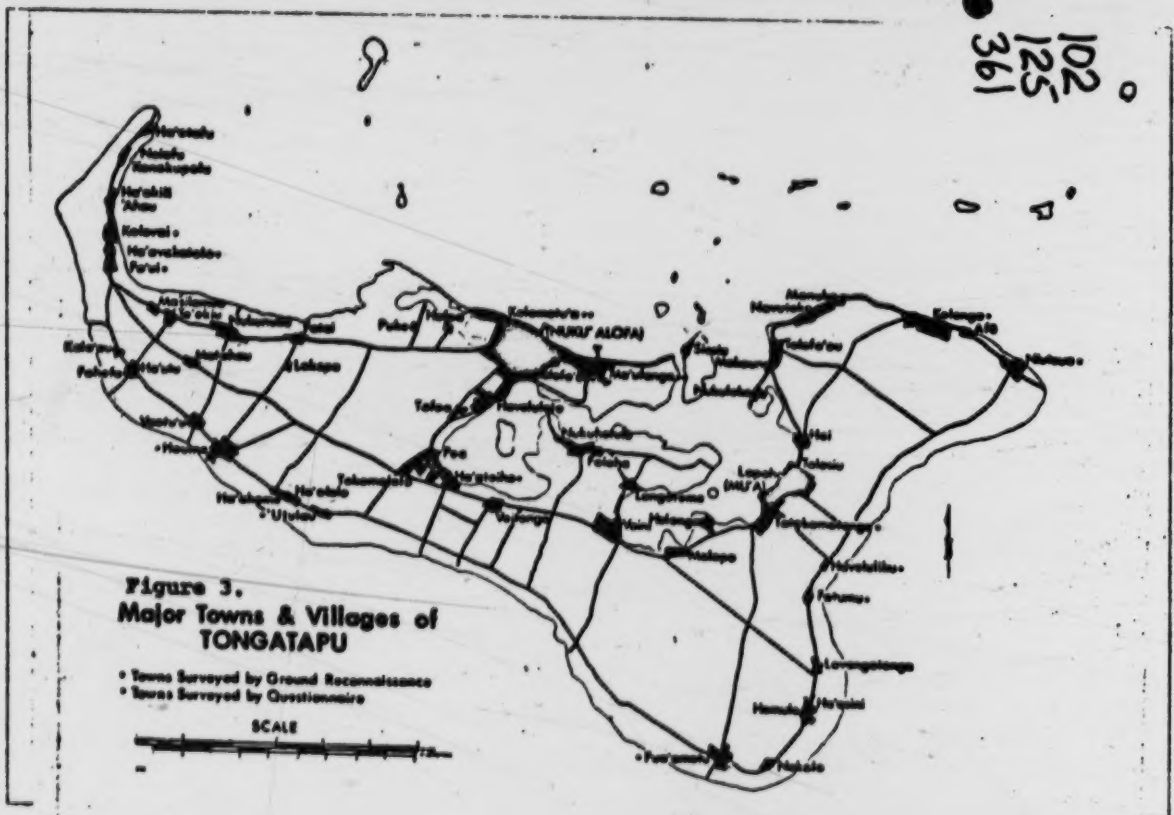
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Height, Area, Villages and Population of Islands. 107

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OUG Tonga 1919

88: Thaman K-5 (1967-1973) 1978

OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu



CHAPTER II

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Geographical Setting

131 The Kingdom of Tonga is situated in the southwest Pacific Ocean some 450 miles (720 kilometers) east-south-east of Suva, Fiji and 1,200 miles (1930 kilometers) north-northeast of Auckland, New Zealand (Figure 5). The archipelago consists of approximately 150 small islands scattered over 20,000 square miles (52,000 square kilometers) of ocean. The islands, 36 of which are presently inhabited, range in size from small reef islets to the island of Tongatapu with an area of 99 square miles (257 square kilometers). The total land area for the entire archipelago is approximately 270 square miles (700 square kilometers). The capital city and main seaport of Nuku'alofa is situated on the north coast of the main island of Tongatapu, on which more than 60 percent of the Kingdom's population live.

Geology and Physiography

133 The Tongan archipelago is among the arcuate islands that are related geologically to the Asian continental margins, rather than to the Pacific Basin to the east. The islands are situated near the outer edge of what is considered to be the most unstable portion of the earth's

[[[REAR CONTINUED ON PAGE 2]]]

CHAPTER III

CULTURAL SETTING AND POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

Historical Background

172 Based on archeological evidence, proto-Tongan culture has been operative on the Tongatapu environment for over 3000 years. The earliest inhabitants, however, were probably not cultivators. Kitchen middens and potsherds indicate that the earliest settlements were along the shores of the central lagoon and that inhabitants depended almost entirely upon reef food (Groube, 1971:295-313).

174 There is no evidence in early Tongan or Samoan excavations that vegetables foods were even utilized in the diet (Suggs, 1960:91). At a later date, possibly in the latter half of the first millenium B.C., a shift from reef exploitation to agriculture may have coincided with the introduction of some of the major Western Pacific cultigens, as well as the pig (Groube, 1971: 311-313).

174 From the time of this supposed shift from a restricted
175 maritime lagoonal economy to a horticultural economy until
361 well after the first European contact by Abel Tasman in
1643, the settlement pattern was probably one of dispers-
175 ed houses and gardens throughout Tongatapu. Tasman was very
311 favourably impressed with the industry of the Tongans. The
361 land was cultivated everywhere, and there were no villages.

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311 Each man lived in his own garden, the allotments being separated by reed fences (Wood, 1945:81-19). After Tasman's visit, a period of 130 years elapsed before further European contact was made by Cook on his second voyage in 1773.

Cook also recorded that Tongatapu was extensively cultivated with "the houses being surrounded by perfumed flowers and set in the middle of food-gardens, the planting being systematic and in rows Good roads, arched over with trees, went in all directions. There were no villages."

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203 (Wood, 1945:18-19). The existence of dispersed and peaceful settlements is attested to by Tongan tradition which "speaks of a time when it was possible to communicate from one end of Tongatapu to the other by calling from one farm to another, a state of affairs described as fanogonongo tokoto (making a proclamation while reclining)" (Gifford, 1929:4-5).

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643 During this period of dispersed settlement, a strong line of high chiefs established their authority over Tongatapu, as well as the Ha'apai and Vava'u groups. This period of strong central authority began with the first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, around 950 A.D. (based on geneological evidence). The line of high chiefs, starting with 'Aho'eitu and including three major lines of royalty (the Tui'i Tonga, Tu' Ha'atakalaui, and Tu'i Kanokupolu lines), provided for a peaceful environment until the very end of the eighteenth century (Wood, 1945:5-18). According to Tasman, in 1643, "we saw with these people no weapons, so that all was peace

161 Table 7. Population of Tongatapu (including 'Atata and
162 'Eueiki), other islands, and Tonga.

Area	1921	1939	1956	1966
Tongatapu	9,794	15,754	31,264	47,920
Other Islands	13,965	18,376	25,574	29,509
Tonga	23,759	34,130	56,833	77,429

Sources: Tupouniua, 1958:41; Fiefia, 1968:9.

class on Tongatapu.

178 The local marketplace, Talamahu Market, is becoming
433 increasingly important as a source of food for the non-
agrarian sector of the population and as a source of cash
for the agrarian sectors.

175 Settlement Patterns

361 At the time of European contact, the settlement
pattern was reportedly of dispersed residences on individual
[35] garden allotments in the bush. Tasman, in 1643, found that
"each man lived in his own garden, the allotments being
separated by reed fences" (Wood, 1945:15). Cook, in 1773,
described Tongatapu as follows:

[48] The lanes or roads necessary for travelling are
laid out in a judicious manner, as to open a free
and easy communication from one part of the island
to the other. Here are no town or villages; most
of the houses are built in the plantations, with no
other order than what conveniency requires (Gifford,
1929:5).

361

as late as the first decade of the nineteenth century, Mariner reported that "the common men live entirely in the country with their wives and families, and occupy themselves cultivating the land" (Maude, 1965:27). Kennedy believes that:

361

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These apparently dispersed dwellings may have been in groups covering a proportion of the land held by each chief This being a comparatively small area, the settlement pattern would in effect represent a village, though quite different in form from its modern counterpart in Tonga. (Kennedy, 1958:162-163; Walsh, 1970:29).

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In the early nineteenth century "Dark Age" of civil disorder, Tongans were forced to seek protection in fortresses known as kolo (the name used today for villages and towns). Such fortresses, all of which had walls, moats, pits, and other means of defense, were established throughout Tongatapu in such places as Nuku'alofa, Pea, Te'ekiu, Kolovai, Nukunuku, Fatai, Longoteme, Kolonga, and Lapaha (McKern, 1929:80-89)... the sites of present day villages or towns.

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Since the period of the civil wars, the predominant settlement pattern has remained one of nucleated settlements from which the inhabitants commute to the surrounding garden areas. The evolution of well-defined towns was no doubt encouraged by the establishment of religious missions and schools, trading companies, and government offices in towns and villages. The distinction between the 'api kolo (place to reside in town) and the 'api 'uta (place to cultivate in

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423 the bush) was also sharpened by legal definition in the
"Constitution of 1875" (Walsh, 1970:29-30).

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369 Nuku'alofa became the center of Wesleyan missionary
work in 1828; in 1845, King George Tupou I selected it as
the site for his capital (Maude, 1965:63). Since that time
Nuku'alofa, which is composed of three coalescent villages,
Kolomotu'a (Old Town), Kolofu'ou (New Town), and Ma'ufanga,
has been the religious, governmental, educational, commer-
cial, economic, and cultural center of Tonga.

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162 Including the three villages of Nuku'alofa, there are
59 villages on Tongatapu, almost all situated on the road
which encircles the island. In 1966 the "urbanized" area
of Nuku'alofa with the satellite town of Haveluloto had a
population of 17,241; the next largest village is Mu'a
(which includes Tatakamotonga and Lapaha), the ancient
capital located in the Eastern District, with a population
of 3,502. The smallest village is Kala'au in the Southwest
with a population of 89; the median population of all
361 villages is 412.5 (based on 1966 census figures). Surround-
ing each town is an area of bush allotments to which the
Tongan farmers commute. In some cases, however, especially
in the Fua'amotu-Pelehake area in East-Central Tongatapu,
individuals farmers do have permanent residences on the bush
allotments. In this particular area, the government has
361
659
423 attempted to re-establish a dispersed settlement pattern by
offering them single, larger allotments ranging from 12 and

361 one-eighth to 15 acres instead of the customary town and
659 bush allotment. The scheme has met with only moderate
423 success.

361 The shift from dispersed to nucleated settlement has
178 led to the transfer of many fruit trees and other specialty
241 crops, such as medicinal herbs, kava, and sugar cane, to the
dooryard gardens on the town allotments.

563 Ethnic Composition

[162] Tonga, unlike most Pacific Island areas, has never had
a large Asian or other foreign component. Census figures
show the Tongan component representing over 98 percent of
the total population and over 97 percent of the population
[423] on Tongatapu (Table 8). A few non-Tongans have leasehold
rights to land, but only Tongans have the legal right to
tenure on the traditional town and bush allotments to which
this study is directed.

162 Age-Sex Structure

[464] Like most countries with high population growth rates,
the Tongan population has a very high proportion of young
people, many of whom are not gainfully employed. In 1966,
60 percent of the population was under 21, slightly more
000 than in 1956. As these people begin families and look for
employment either as farmers or wage earners, more pressure
will come to bear on the present agricultural system.

571 Social Structure

602 Tongan social structure is permeated by countless
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423 ments, the law states that every native male Tongan of sixteen years of age, upon application to the Minister of Lands is entitled to a bush allotment not exceeding 8 1/4 acres (3.3 hectares) and a town allotment not exceeding one rood, 24 perches (2/5 acre or 0.2 hectares). A person may hold no more than one of each and he may not make further applications after having refused a previous allotment.

Also provided for was the option of a single "oversize" bush allotment of 12 3/8 acres (5.0 hectares) instead of the customary separate bush and town allotments. A later amendment provided for the issuance of 15 acres (6.1 hectares) (a 10 acre bush allotment plus 5 acres to be leased at a nominal fee). These were attempts to create a dispersed settlement pattern with farmers living on bush allotments instead of in villages.

By law, the allotments should be obtained from the hereditary estate or parcel of Crown land on which the applicant resides, although if such land is unavailable there, the allotment may be granted elsewhere.

423 The rules of inheritance of allotments are also based
428 on primogeniture, although the original holder's widow is entitled to his allotments. Upon the remarriage or death of the previous holder's widow, an allotment descends, by the ruler, to his male descendants; his unmarried daughters; his brothers or their lineal descendants; his father's brothers; or their lineal descendants, in that order. Upon remarriage

423 Minister, into 56 4 1/8 acre (1.7 hectares) allotments; and
11 other 4 acre (1.6 hectares) allotments resulting from
subdivision of expired leasehold land southeast of Utulau.

423 Town allotments, which are supposed to be 2/5 acre
361 (0.2 hectares) in size, are located in the 59 town reserves
throughout Tongatapu (Figure 3).^A Each of these town
reserves is subdivided into numerous town allotments or

[28] 'api kolo. Figures 10 and 11 are examples of the sub-
division of the town reserves of Houma and Kolonga into
[12] individual town allotments ('api kolo). There is very
little information regarding the exact number and acreage
of town allotments on Tongatapu. Nevertheless, based on
figures in the Report of the Lands and Survey Department
(Government of Tonga, 1971a:Appendix I), there are probably

[114] between 4,000 and 5,000 town allotments. Hardaker (1971:25)
[162] quotes a figure of over 13,000 town allotments for Tonga-
tapu, but this seems unlikely considering that the total
number of households on Tongatapu, at the 1966 census, was
only just over 6,000. Most allotments are probably close
to the statutory size although there are many oversized and
undersized allotments.

423 The portions of hereditary estates which have been
311 reserved for the holders and their families comprise about
3,100 acres (1,255 hectares). These parcels are generally
used for food or commercial crops. In some cases, the land
has been put into plantations for the production of copra
A [See Category 361, p. 14--Analyst.]

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● 361

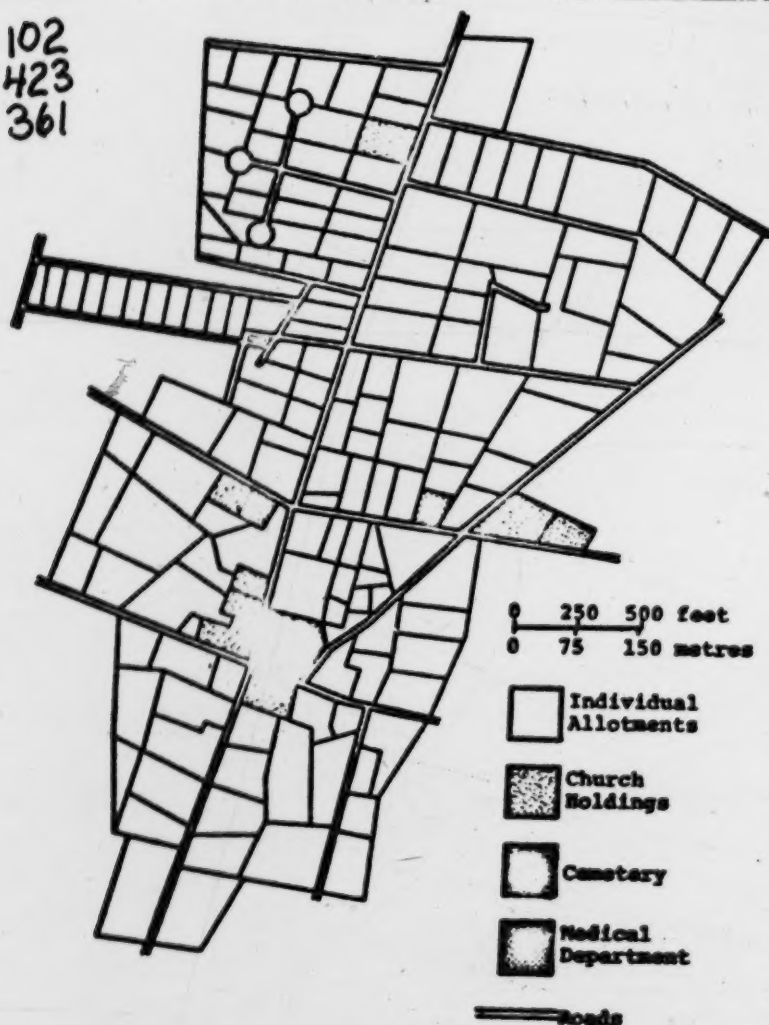


Figure 10. Subdivision of the Houma township reserve.

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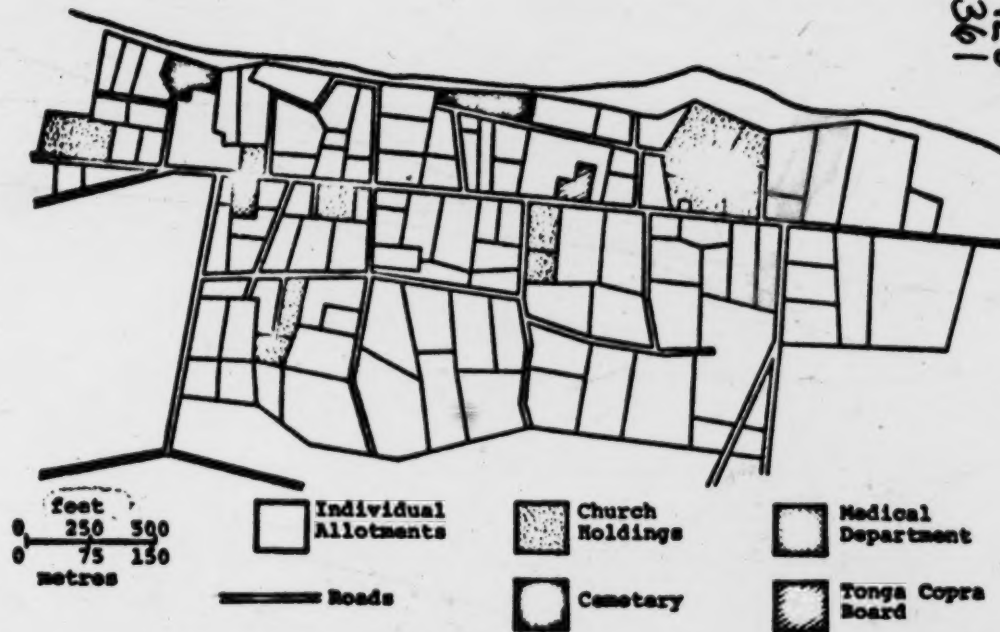


Figure 11. Subdivision of the Kolonga township reserve.

241 bush.

241 Of all commercial crops, coconut palms seem to receive
the least care and on 42 of the 101 sample allotments
245 there was evidence of wasted nuts rotting on the ground.

There was also considerable evidence of rat damage to coconut palms; 8 allotments had numerous fallen nuts which had been gnawed by rats and another 23 allotments had some evidence of rat damage.

241 There were 7 cases where at least one-quarter acre of
242 hyacinth bean (Dolichos lablab) had been planted as a green manure crop, and another 13 cases where it was present in smaller concentrations. This is one of the green manure crops introduced by the Department of Agriculture.

241 As for preparation of land prior to cropping, there were 82 cases where burning was evident and 43 cases where
[654] plowing was evident. The government encourages plowing and discourages burning because it injures coconut palms and often causes wildfires, especially in Vahe Loto, the Central District.

241 Improvements which were found on the 101 allotments
361 included 13 permanent residences and 13 temporary thatched huts. Where permanent homes were present, allotments were usually better maintained and had more cultivated trees and plants, such as garden vegetables, which require constant care. The temporary dwellings are generally used while guarding crops from theft or when a farmer or his family stay overnight at the bush allotment.

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Fencing, generally to protect crops such as paper mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) from destruction by livestock, was found on a number of bush allotments. On 10 percent of the sample allotments good condition barbed wire fencing was used around at least some portions of the land. On others, poor quality fencing or live fences and hedges were found; Erythrina variegata and Jatropha curcas were commonly used.

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Permanent residences were found on 13 percent of the sample bush allotments. These allotments were generally more intensively cultivated and fruit trees, useful plant species, and livestock were comparatively numerous. Temporary thatched houses were found on many bush allotments; these are generally used in guarding valuable crops.

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In some cases, livestock, primarily horses and cows, were tethered or allowed to graze on bush allotments. Most livestock, especially pigs, chickens, ducks, goats, and dogs (which are commonly eaten) were generally kept on town allotments. In almost all cases where these animals were found on bush allotments, the farmer's permanent residence was situated there also.

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In short, the agricultural system, as practiced on bush allotments, seems to have retained much of its traditional character. The types of crops and protected plants, intercropping practices, and plant successions have undergone few major changes. Some changes which have taken

Tongans gave honour to women of high chiefly rank. The eldest daughter of the Tu'i Tonga was the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (= female) who received greater respect than even her father or brother. Her daughter was called the Tamaha (= Sacred Child) to whom even the Tu'i Tonga made obeisance. The first Tamaha was the daughter of a Fijian chief from Lakeba, in the Lau group, who married the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, in the early 17th Century; the last Tamaha died in 1852.⁽⁷⁾ 644 [562]

Through careful inter-marriage the chiefs preserved physical and mental superiority over the commoners. Though the chiefs had unlimited power and were often oppressive they received from their people a loyalty that has remained a characteristic feature of Tongan society. Tongans were industrious to the extent that life in their fertile islands required and their service to the chiefs necessitated. They, however, were regarded as rather indolent in contrast with their neighbours in Fiji. The Tongans' pride was not only a relic of past domination over other island groups. They had abilities that marked them as an outstanding race. Ingenious, enterprising, self-reliant, they have been able to extricate themselves from difficulties that would daunt most Europeans.⁽⁸⁾ 565 622 181 461 181

The most important of the early voyagers who visited Tonga, Tasman (1643) and Cook (1773-4-7), gave testimony to the Tongans' peaceful and prosperous state. They noted the gardens, carefully cultivated and surrounded with reed fences, and the trim tree-lined paths connecting plantations. The people did not live in villages and there was no sign of political unrest or dissension. It was boasted that proclamations could be shouted from one household to another and taken across the island of Tongatapu in a very short time. 361 [177]

Captain Cook's eulogies gave "The Friendly Islands" the attraction of a tropical paradise that aroused false expectations in the minds of many ship captains afterwards. Attacks on ships were due to a desire for the treasures suddenly brought into their remote islands rather than to any latent savagery in the Tongans' nature. Normally the people were friendly and hospitable, with genuine affection in their own domestic relationships and a prevailing gaiety and good humour. Their natural buoyancy of spirit was displaced only by fears of death or other impending disasters and, when faced with these, they had recourse to their religion. 181 [609]

Tongans sat lightly by their religion except in times of distress and danger. Then they brought offerings to the priests' houses, sitting outside and making supplication through the priests to the spirits in Puluotu, the paradise beyond the ocean; these spirits, it was believed, had power over life and death. There was no public worship. Music, of which Tongans were very fond, was not associated with religion. The fear in which the gods were held made music inappropriate. Tongans sang only in festival dances which gave the setting for their treasured lyrics, and in canoe journeys and working parties on shore. 771 782 773 776 533 [776]

Religion was bound up with the social system. Because the Tu'i Tonga was believed to be divinely descended the chiefs who were related to his line by marriage shared in the reverence accorded to him. So many chiefs were closely related to the Tu'i Tonga that a visitor like Cook was easily puzzled by the many who received quasi-royal honours. The chiefs received offerings for both religious and social reasons. Puluotu was reserved for them; commoners, it was held, had no souls and were not entitled to an after-life. 771 643 [565] 565 775

[1828-1830]

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Aleamotu'a was baptized on 10 January 1830 in the presence of a congregation of 600. He took the name of Josiah, and the missionaries generally referred to him afterwards as Josiah Tupou or King Josiah. He had supported, first the Tahitian teachers and then the Wesleyan missionaries, wavering only temporarily and under strong pressure. His three sons and two daughters were baptized at the same service. On the afternoon of that day, Turner wrote,

"A man who had been a magician or a kind of god and of so high a rank that the king used to pray to him was baptized; so in the same day we have baptized both the king and his god." (28)

After Aleamotu'a was baptized he was married to his chosen wife, Mary, who had become a class-leader and had taken charge of the Sunday School in Nuku'alofa. (29)

Nuku'alofa, with its daily teaching and well-attended regular worship, had become an orderly Christian community. Every Sunday was filled with services and teaching: 5 a.m., prayer meeting; 8 a.m., children's catechizing; 9 a.m., worship; 3 p.m., worship; evening, English service (for mission families and any visiting sailors). During the week the missionaries supervised the day schools, conducted classes for catechumens and others for full members, and held a mid-week service (Wednesday) and prayer-meeting (Friday). They were also occupied with translation work, dispensing medicine, making pastoral visits to the sick and to outlying villages. On 31 March 1830 Cross sent to the Committee in London specimens of the handwriting and composition of Mary, wife of Aleamotu'a, and others. These may be the first sentences in Tongan still in existence; they are preserved in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. (30)

The change in the people's attitude was receiving favourable comments from visiting sea-captains. Captain Hardy, *Snapper*, who used to avoid Tongan anchorages because of the people's reputation for deceit, robbery and violence, reported on the difference when he came on 22 September 1828. Commodore Lawes, H.M.S. *Satellite*, in May 1829, expressed astonishment at the progress the people at Nuku'alofa had made in reading after only a short time. The wrecked whaler, *L'Aigle*, received unexpected hospitality from Aleamotu'a and his people in March 1830. On the other hand, the sailors of some ships cursed the missionaries because they had forbidden women at Nuku'alofa to go on board the visiting vessels.

The chapel built for the Tahitian teachers in 1826 had proved far too small. On 5 May 1830 Turner reported the beginning of the construction of a new chapel "on the hill where the old fortress stood in Mariner's time", the hill to become famous in Tongan Church history as Zion. On 3 September it was opened, with about 1,000 attempting to crowd into the building and nearly as many others outside. Turner described the efforts of some to appear in European clothing, the women with "gowns and bonnets. The bonnets were entirely of their own manufacture, under the direction of Mary, the excellent wife of Tupou". Though Turner wrote this with some satisfaction, he added that the appearance of many could only "excite a smile". Another quaint reference was to Thomas Wright, Lawry's old servant who had returned with John Thomas, and who now conducted the singing in Zion "although he does not understand music"! (31)

Nuku'alofa had formerly been a fortress. Its new importance arose not only because of its convenience as a port but as the centre of the new religion in Tongatapu. It is also noteworthy that Turner and Cross had commenced preaching

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

134 Shulamit R. Decktor Korn

cultural context of population characteristics. The difference is that in one case the demographer is invited onto anthropological territory, and in the other case the anthropologist speaks the demographer's language. 121

Enumerating the Population of Motulahi

Rather than continuing to discuss household surveys in the abstract, I shall use my own data from the Kingdom of Tonga as an example. These materials were collected in the course of an anthropological investigation of local organization in Tonga (conducted over a ten-month period in 1969-70). 101

The Tonga Islands lie just west of the International Dateline in the South Pacific Ocean, east of Fiji and south of Samoa. There are about 150 named islands, but most of them are little more than elevated reefs and have no potential for cultivation or settlement. Thirty-six islands were inhabited at the time of the last reported census, held in 1966 (Fiebia 1968, Rogers 1969). These inhabited islands comprise 238.81 square miles, almost 90 % of the land area of Tonga. At the census of 1966 the population was 77,429, of whom 98.31 % were classified as Tongan (in contrast to others such as Europeans, part-Europeans, and other Pacific Islanders). The majority of the population lives in villages that are dotted throughout the islands in a nuclear pattern of village settlements. Most of the people who live in the rural areas and many of those who live in the towns are wholly or partially dependent for their livelihoods on peasant agriculture. 161
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My research was based in the village of Motulahi, one of the largest villages on Tongatapu, the main island of Tonga. It might be asked whether Motulahi is a typical village. However, the notion of a typical village has no application to Tonga, for there is considerable diversity among Tongan villages with respect to a number of important variables. For example, there are significant differences between isolated village-islands on the one hand and villages on the relatively large island of Tongatapu on the other, or between a village on Tongatapu less than a mile from the capital town and another at the far end of Tongatapu. Villages in Tonga also differ considerably with respect to size of population, from less than one hundred people to more than one thousand, and the dimension of size cuts across the dimension of location. There 114
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184 are also differences among villages with respect to ecological setting, population density, and a number of social, political, and economic factors. Motulahi is particularly unlike most other villages in that there is a very large number of people in the village. According to the census of 1966, Motulahi's population numbered 1122, making it one of only eight villages in the whole of Tonga with a population of more than one thousand people. At the same time, half of all the villages in Tonga had a population under three hundred. However, the population of all these small villages accounted for less than one fifth of the total population of Tonga, and only one quarter of all the people living in villages.

125 Before proceeding to examine the population of Motulahi, something should be said about the difficulty of making a statement about who the people of any village in Tonga are. My household survey was conducted intermittently, beginning early in January 1970 and continuing at intervals until about the middle of May. By the end of that period, some of the people who were enumerated earlier in the survey were no longer living in Motulahi or were still in the village but living in some other household, while others came to live in Motulahi only after I had

121 already surveyed the household in which they lived. Demographers commonly deal with these fluctuations by arbitrarily fixing on a particular date and enumerating the population present at that date. This suits their purpose of enumeration, but it is an intolerably arbitrary solution of the problem of ethnographic description (Carroll 1975a, Colson 1967). My lack of concern at that time for the demographic significance of the data I was collecting is revealed by the fact that I did not take the simple step of making an enumeration of the population present on one day. Instead, what I did was try to keep track of the people whose existence I was aware of, noting changes in household composition and migration in and out of the village. It was in considering how to deal with these data that I came to realize that population flux is not a difficulty that gets in the way of perceiving the demographic characteristics of the village but, instead, is a vital element of proper description of local organization in Tonga (Decktor Korn 1975). Again, since I gave no thought to the compilation of statistics on migration, I made no effort to ascertain exactly when these residential changes took place. What I wanted to determine was the reasons and circumstances that caused people to make their moves.

004

MR. J. J. LISTER ON THE GEOLOGY

[Eua Island]

133 with a large number of foraminifera". True coral does, however, exist on this terrace, as I found one large mass clearly exhibiting a structure like that of a *Porites*.

The limestones from the higher part of the island present for the most part a compact structure. Some of them are crowded with foraminifera, but large masses of coral appear to be absent.

With regard to the nature of the limestone formations as a whole, as indicated by the sections above described, Dr. Murray writes to me that they "may all have been formed in or about reefs, and true coral-reefs may have been living quite close to them when they were laid down;" but from the scarcity of examples of the larger corals he concludes that "it is more likely that they were laid down in depths of from 30 to 100 fathoms, and that they formed the base of true coral-reefs."

The conformation of the surface of terrace a points to its having formed a true reef, and having been elevated without much denudation; but in the case of terrace b and the higher limestone rocks, the extent to which they have evidently been denuded and their nearness to the volcanic basis bear out Dr. Murray's view, founded on the nature of the organisms they contain.

Some features of interest are presented by the shores of the island.

● [361] On its western side, in the neighbourhood of the village of Ohunua, the island is bordered by a narrow fringing reef some 50 to 100 yards in width. There are clear traces here of recent elevation. To the south of the village there is a low shore-cliff undermined by the action of the sea, but separated from the present shore by a strip of sand some 50 to 60 yards wide, covered with coconut palms and other trees.

From a little to the north of the village the island is bordered by a cliff some thirty feet high, which extends to the northern end. The foot of this cliff is washed at high tide by the sea, and is deeply undermined, the upper limit reached by the action of the sea being sharply defined. Above this present line of undermining, and separated from it by a projecting ledge of rock, there is another and older one, the upper limit of which is sharply defined and separated from that of the present line of wave-action by a distance of seven feet. When looking at the cliff from the sea, I thought I detected a third line of wave-action at a still higher level.

From the foot of the cliff the shore-platform extends some fifty to a hundred yards, and is bordered by growing coral. Over the greater part of its extent this platform is flat, and at high tide is

- * *Miliolites*, sp.
- Orbitolites complanata* (T).
- Taxinaris trochus* (d'Orb.).
- Polymorphina*, sp.
- Globigerina* (*bulloides*?).
- Truncatulina*, sp.
- Planorbulina larvata* (P. & J.).
- Carpenteria monticularis* (Carter).

- Polytrema miniacum* (Linn.).
- Gypsinia inharens* (Schultze).
- Rotalia*, sp.
- Calcarina hispida* (Brady).
- Cycloclypeus Carpenteri* (Brady).
- Heterostegina depressa* (d'Orb.).
- Nummulites Cumingii* (Carp.).

/24 cont./

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[133]

[484]

29. Even the fertile island of "Eua which is the only Tongan island with running water and lies close to Tongatapu has had an astonishingly sparse population until recent times. In part the reason is said to be the often difficult crossing between Tongatapu and "Eua because of the frequent strong surf, people shrink from such discomforts.

Gregariousness was (30)

30. For example, Cook, loc, cit p. 289.

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461
571
and still is a further outstanding trait of the Tongan. The natives of both sexes prefer working together whenever they can arrange it. In every village there are cooperative pools (kautaha) in which the women plait mats and make lengths of tapa and in which the men carry out larger plantation work. In addition they unite in single undertakings of various kinds (for example, fishing, house building), and most men form evening kawa gatherings in the village where they discuss the day's happenings, plans for the future and events of the past, sometimes until daybreak.--In sociability the Tongan comes to life, and amid talk, fun and laughter the work progresses better. In the course of European influence and cultural change this gregarious impulse has been considerably furthered by the fact that individual settlements united into villages, (31)

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178
177
261
31. The village settlement in Tonga and with it the separation of place of residence and plantation goes back to the civil wars and the influence of missions. See chapter on settlement and community, p. 134 ff.

new ties in church groups arose, and the dependence of the masses on their chiefs greatly diminished.

181
461
The old controversy as to whether the Tongan should be called lazy or industrious can be answered, on the basis of present findings, by saying that he is neither lazy nor industrious by Central European standards. On these relatively fertile islands that have no drastic

/92 cont./

553 rendered: "the coconut whose offshoot comes out of the sea, to take
55) root on the shore [whither it was driven]".

B. Village Life

a) Settlement and Community

361 The Tongans today live in villages. These differ in size. In
162 general, they have several hundred inhabitants. In the smallest
settlements on a few islands there are approximately 50 to 80 natives
632 living. The largest, "urbanized" villages, on the other hand, are:
[162] Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) with approximately 4500 inhabitants, Neiafu
(Vava'u) with approximately 2200, Mu'a (Tongatapu) with approximately
1400, and Pangai-Hihifo (Lifuka) with approximately 1000. In these
[146] larger towns many Tonga already work in trade, industry and government
[366] service; here there are rather large department stores and cars;
[493] Nuku'alofa and Neiafu have paved streets, also cinemas, and, in the
[363] former telephones and electric light have been installed. But here too,
[368] in the larger settlements, the majority of Tongans have plantations and
[365] work them more or less regularly--to some extent along with other
[423] occupations.

62) /93/ The following figures were obtained in average Tongan
162 villages

	Number of inhabitants	Households (cook hut & meals in common)	Living- (sleeping houses)
Nomuka.....	567	85	125
'Uiha ('Uiha).....	647	100	143
Felema ('Uiha).....	372	48	72
Fungamisi (Vava'u).....	263	45	55

368 In an average Tongan village there are usually three or four
churches of various denominations. (264)

264. Even on the island of 'O'ua (Ha'apai group)

/93 cont./

368

there are three churches (party in Tongan style) in the settlement inhabited by only 200 natives.

[366] In addition, a village has a government school and often a Wesleyan school as well, one to four kautaha houses (meeting place of the women's cooperative for tapa- and mat-making) and one to four small (retail) shops.

361

351

Although most of the houses are situated on the roads that intersect the villages, their distribution seems irregular. The broad grassy areas (265)

[245)

265. These are often interspersed with mango and bread-fruit trees.

on which they are situated are (in accordance with the law) cut short by the natives, but are often untidy looking. Since most individual plots are not fenced in and the neatly plaited fences of plantations and houses praised by observers in old times have long since been forgotten the villages give an even more unkempt impression.

361

178

[491)

These villages are a development of more recent times. In ancient Tonga the houses of commoners were scattered throughout the islands; people lived on their plantations, (266)

266. Ellis writes, for example: "The houses do not form towns or villages, but are built about five hundred yards or more from each other and generally in the midst of a plantation, the whole of which is frequently fenced in with a hedge of bamboo, or reeds with a door-way"; /cited in English/ (W. Ellis, An authentic Narrative.../cited in English / loc. cit. I. 1782 pp. 88/89.

and many roads made possible easy connection between the plantations. (267)

267. Reminiscent of this old way of settlement are the huts on individual plantations found even today on various islands, which are very

/93 cont./

361
178
remote from their corresponding villages. Here, for a few days, weeks or months (sometimes also years) live those men (seldom with their families) who wish to devote themselves intensively to their remote plantations, who give up the social life of the village and take the trouble to go the long distance to church. This is a development, though not a significant one, since it is very limited.

(565) Only Mu'a on Tongatapu was already at that time probably a village-like settlement of various chiefs. (268)

268. Compare E.W. Gifford, *Tongan Society*, p. 7; J. Wilson, *A missionary voyage...*/cited in *English/* p. 285.

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[712]
[777] During the civil wars (1797-1852) the people of most of the islands sought refuge in fortified places and soon became accustomed to living together in townlike settlements, especially since, after the Christianization of the Archipelago (1826-1852), this made frequent church-going much easier. In the beginning, these newly formed villages /94/ seem to have been rather well kept. (269)

(113) 269. Compare J. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage pittoresque...* loc. cit. II. p. 78; the same, *Voyage au Pol Sud et dans l'Océanie...* *Histoire du Voyage /Voyage to the South Pole and Oceania...* *Account of the voyage/*. vol. IV. Paris 1842. pp. 138, 153, 352; Th. West, *Ten years in South-Central Polynesia...* /cited in *English/* London 1865. p. 44.

361
177
182 Their deterioration set in during the growing European influences which very much decreased the natives' interest in various tasks once carefully and intensively carried out, and which, of course, also caused various Tongan crafts to die out or become crude.

However, this deterioration of the settlements is only external.

621
186 The feeling of solidarity, the community consciousness of the Tongans seems as strong as in old times. It may even have grown as a result

/105 cont./

565 The very limited possibilities commoners had in old times of
178 obtaining special offices (296)
463

296. The commoners who were not farmers worked as cooks or sometimes practiced lowly trades such as tattooing, shaving and carving clubs (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 92); however, some are said to have risen socially from the lowly ranks they were born into (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. p. 112.

have been very much expanded through the emancipation of the people.

(622) /106/ Commoners nowadays very often hold the post of "town officer" /cited in English/, and the teachers, pastors and physicians, as well as many officials and employees of the government in the administrative centers of the Archipelago come from the ranks of commoners.

565 The old social stratification of the population of the Tonga
178 Islands has herewith undergone an essential change; the earlier,
621 extreme contrast between nobles and common people was considerably moderated and new positions of authority were created which are respected in the community and may be obtained not through the privilege of birth but through knowledge and ability. Formerly, people lived scattered over the islands on their plantations, completely dependent on their respective chiefs and matapule. Today,

(554) in the village community, the chief, often together with a few matapule,
(622) has a respected, but by no means overrated, position if he owns land
(634) or is a "town officer" (or "district officer") /cited in English/
receiving a salary from the state. As a landless chief without any official function he and with him the matapule have actually been reduced to a certain insignificance which, only on official occasions (kava circles), gives way to a formal show of respect. More capable

(622) commoners, as "town officers," oversee many village communities in which the actual chief leads a simple life which scarcely differs
000 from that of commoners. The clergymen who conduct the numerous church

/166 cont./

244
[137] which were often brought to the Archipelago by Europeans, are planted in very small quantities on the Archipelago. The Tongans have scarcely been able to develop a liking for these useful plants, especially since they do not thrive as a result of the careless and neglectful way they are tended.

489
[361] Since the plantations are sometimes a considerable distance from the dwellings--in contrast to ancient Tongan times--the question of how to transport the harvest (which sometimes consists of many heavy tubers) must be solved. The Tonga often still use old ways of carrying.

482
198 To transport coconuts, for example, they split the outer skin of the husk like splints, then tie into a bundle four or five splints and carry home on their shoulders two of these bundles by means of a coconut leaf stem (to which the bundles are attached, front and back). Harvested tubers, bananas, etc., are most often carried in the traditional coconut-leaf baskets (kato lou niu) hastily plaited on the plantations, which the natives /167/ likewise carry by means of a coconut leaf stalk (resting on their shoulders and notched so that they can hook the basket on). The coconut leaf stalk is stuck through the basket itself. Often, the handles of the farming tools (for example, huo spade, huo lafa-lafa) are used as carrying sticks. The horse, which was brought to Tonga by Europeans, renders many natives important service as a riding and pack animal, and some natives own two-wheel European carts drawn by horses, which very much facilitate the transportation of even abundant harvests to the villages.

241
198
199 Seen as a whole, Tongan agriculture seems to us little changed. The traditional crops (supplemented by manioc) still form the basis of the food of the inhabitants. The significance of cultivated plants introduced by Europeans is no more than "supplementary." The tools and methods of cultivation are also basically the same, though improvement and additions to the tools, as well as a certain lapse in

/181 cont./

000 the supply of fish nets was in general probably greater.

226 Like net-making, fishing itself was a hereditary profession,
463 according to Mariner. (472)

472. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 96.

Even though not every Tongan, by any means, knows how to fish anymore, the number of natives who master at least one of the methods is very large; most of them fish only in addition to their main work of farming, and there are very few who devote themselves daily and almost exclusively to fishing. The Tongan calls the fishing experts toutai; but he means by this not so much a "profession" in our sense, but rather a man who knows the sea and is experienced in fishing. It is not to be assumed that this was essentially different in ancient Tongan times. (473)

(784) 473. Gifford, however, speaks of "professional fishermen" /cited in English/ and says, for example: "An ancient tapu in Tonga reserved the making of fish traps to the toutai ika (professional fishermen) but nowadays this tapu is removed." /cited in English/ (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 147). If there were indeed "professional fishermen" in ancient Tonga, they could only have acted as attendants of chiefs /182/ and have served them. Aside from that, most methods of fishing were probably employed by anyone who mastered them, as is also implied by Gifford's words: "Every 'commoner' who lived on a tract bordered by water could fish along his waterfront." /cited in English/ (Ibid. p. 177.)

226 /182/ While, in ancient Tonga, apparently those who had their
361 property along the shore had the right to fish, (474)
198

474. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 177.
today the Tongans within the realm of their islands, engage in fishing wherever they expect to be successful, and pay no attention to the

/182 cont./

226 owners of plantations bordering on the shore. (475)

361
178

475. Perhaps the reason for this change is the fact that the natives today generally do not live on their plantations, but in the village.

226 It is only for the erection of weirs that they must apply to the
656 government for a license, and with that they are assured of the exclusive right to a specific fishing ground.

225 In former times the chiefs alone had the right to catch turtles
565 and consume them. (476)

178

476. See Th. West, Ten years...p. 122.

(177) As a result of Christianization and the gradual democratization of the Archipelago, commoners may today freely engage in turtle fishing.

(656) The only restriction--applying to all classes--is a legal closed
226 season for these animals (November to February). Tongan law (which
656 is the regulation that replaces the once arbitrary power of the chiefs)
671 furthermore determines a closed season for the 'ava fish of Nomuka (May to June), and forbids the use of dynamite.

226 Seen as a whole, present-day Tonga fishing is not essentially
178 different from that which was carried on in earlier times. The natives have largely kept their old methods, (477)

477. It is difficult to determine whether there was certain development within the old methods that was brought about by the Tongans themselves or was the result of foreign influences.

226 only one of which was apparently lost and to which two were added. In
177 the making of traditional fishing gear, European material is used to a rather large extent; it is more serviceable and at the same time

226 more convenient. As in ancient Tonga, almost all the procuring of
462 sea food is the business of the men; women gather only along the shore
000 and on the reef (liku) and fish with the hand net (talaki). As in all

T /294 cont./

361 which was customary even in ancient times--in contrast to Tonga--
177 has been retained; but /295/ in larger settlements that consist of
individual sections these have, in some cases, made themselves
T independent to a certain extent. As in the Tongan Archipelago, the
621 old encompassing community system in the villages is still alive.
178 With respect to social stratification, however, the power of the
S nobility--in complete contrast to changes on the Tonga Islands-- has
565 been preserved to a remarkable extent, the position of the matai in
178 recent times has suffered to some extent by the fact that the young
596 generation is gaining influence in the family and, with the decline
584 of the taupou system, (15)

15. See F.J.H. Grattan, loc. cit. p. 152.

the function of the tulafale (speaker) as marriage go-between belongs
S to the past. The fact that the exceptional position of the nobility
565 here in Samoa has not been weakened as much as in Tonga may probably
178 not be explained solely by the rather conservative nature of the
797 Samoans, but by the fact that the missionaries here did not see any
T particular need to attack the old social system, for in this semi-
565 democratic system the rule of the matai was apparently never as ab-
solute and arbitrary as that of the Tongan nobility, and on the Samoa
Islands there was no permanent division between nobility and commoners,
for the serving non-noble still had a chance to be promoted to the
nobility.

S As a result of the self-confident and conservative nature of
177 these natives as well as the restraint of the missionaries and the
178 white government the traditional political organization in West
623 Samoa is still largely intact, with the village governments (council
S of matai) preserved. As a result of the occupation of the Archipelago
657 by whites the Samoa Islands have become two political entities
642
648

/305 cont./

much inherited tradition and of mixing of old and new (especially with regard to nuptials) which the present generation takes for granted.

In Fiji too there is a sort of "flight marriage" whose purpose is to avoid the great expense of a regular /306/ wedding; the number of those who circumvent the traditional wedding seems to be larger on these islands than in the other Archipelago.

While in Tonga a change in the type of settlement can be noted, with commoners formerly living as separate families on the land of chiefs, we find in Fiji a continuation of what has long been the customary type of village settlements, though with the qualification that now the villages seldom have the kind of simple structure in which the larger kinship groups of yavusa were the /settlement's/ sole inhabitants.

The old community-oriented system, continues in Fiji to a large extent; this is evident not only in the claim of common land ownership and the traditional carrying-out of community projects, but particularly in the fact that the transfer of private property to fellow villagers solely at their request and without direct return service seems to be practiced on these Islands no less than in Tonga, even though it is officially discouraged. As a result of their encounter with fundamentally different types of culture and under a certain economic pressure, some Fijians have separated themselves from the village community and have found work in trade or industry, or they have established independent farming enterprises (with government support); however, they have remained in the minority, and most of them find it very difficult to break with the old community life and its customs. This development, which is scarcely to be noted in Tonga and only to a slight extent in Samoa, nevertheless represents a certain danger to the continuation of the traditional social order.

With regard to social stratification it is to be noted that on

CHAPTER III

POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT

Historical Development.

174 The initial settlement of the Tonga Islands resulted from southward migrations of Polynesians from Samoa, approximately 3,000 years ago (Green and Kelly 1931, p. 64). Pottery fragments and ancient fortifications indicate that settlement was widespread and that a prehistoric population of approximately 30,000 persons developed within the islands (Green and Kelly 1931, p. 64; Maude 1965, p. 27). Between this prehistoric period and European contact in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there elapsed sufficient time for the population to have expanded beyond this level, even with only a modest growth rate. This suggests that at some time during this pre-European period, Tongan population stabilized at a level reasonably in balance with the carrying capacity of the land. This assumption is, in part, confirmed by the writings of Tasman in 1643, and Cook in 1773, each of whom observed widespread settlement throughout the islands. Concerning the island of Tongatapu, maps and descriptions from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries indicate only small scattered areas not included within a system of native food producing plantations (Green 1973, p. 64).

175
361 It appears that the concept of village settlement did not exist in Tonga during this early period of European contact. Tasman

175 reported that individuals resided within private gardens, separated
 361 from each other by fences, or such common boundaries as roads and
 trails. Cook, more than a century later, reported a similar pat-
 tern of settlement. Such accounts suggest that the island popula-
 tion was relatively evenly distributed over most of the island
 acreage. Towns, as defined today, were unfamiliar, the population
 groupings being loosely clustered on land holdings of respective
 chiefs (Kennedy 1958, p. 162).

178 During the eighteenth century, newer types of weapons were
 721 introduced (i.e., the bow and arrow, and a modified throwing spear,
 669 from Fiji) and tribal fighting began within Tonga. What began as
 177 small scale conflicts gradually evolved into civil war which involved
 411 all the Tongan islands. This period of warfare, which lasted until
 361 the 1850s, effectively terminated the widespread house and garden
 178 type of settlement (Kennedy 1958, p. 164). Replacing this tradi-
 722 tional system for a limited time was a settlement pattern in which
 361 most people resided within fortified structures. The war also
 722 disrupted the garden agricultural system, owing to frequent raids
 241 from neighboring tribes. As a result, treaties were formulated
 between two or more fortified groups, whereby land was guarded,
 planted, and harvested in common (Kennedy 1958, p. 64).

178 With the close of the civil war period (1799-1852), which
 643 lasted for more than a half century, the three principal island
 groups comprising the Tongas were unified under the rule of
 178 Taufau'ahau (Tupou I). However, the end of hostilities did not
 361 signal a return to the traditional house and garden settlement

178 pattern. Villages, resembling the modern concept of population
361 grouping, replaced the fortified structures, often being constructed
on the original fortress site (i.e., Feletoa and Neiafu).

423
[241] It was during this post-civil war period that the present
agricultural system, based upon land tenure, was initiated. Under
a decree issued by Tupou I, farmland was divided into allotments
of approximately eight and one-quarter acres, or 100 fathoms square.
This 'api tukuhau, or rural allocation system, was available to all
males over 16 years of age. In addition, the 'api kola, or urban
allocation system, provided each family with two-fifths of an acre
within a village, for housing. An alternative to the above per-
mitted an individual to waive his rural and urban allotments, in
exchange for a larger rural allotment of 12 3/8 acres.

361 The bonds of communal living insured the survival of this
nuclear village pattern, despite the fact that some individuals
[484] resided a substantial distance from their farm holdings. Within
modern Tonga, this pattern still exists as a strongly bound unit,
even though this often necessitates as much as 20 miles of travel
from village to farm acreage (Kennedy 1958, p. 165).

Twentieth Century Population Settlement

361
162 The population of twentieth century Tonga can be divided
into three groups, by pattern of settlement: (1) villages,
(2) towns, and (3) miscellaneous groupings, such as school and
church facilities.

621 Although the village concept is relatively new to Tongan
culture, it serves today as the center of most social and economic

● 361 represents such an occurrence. Historically, the formation of this city resulted from the merger of three villages, Ma'ufanga, Kalamotu'a and Kolomofu'ou, during the reign of Tapou I. Following rapid urban population growth and expansion of settlement along the major transportation routes of the city, Nuku'alofa has recently incorporated other nearby villages such as Longalonga, Fasi, Fanga, and Maile'taha.

369 The Tongan Minister of Lands has classified only four Tongan towns as being urban areas: Mu'a, Nuku'alofa, Pangai, and Neiafu. The latter three are the capital cities of Tongatapu, Ha'apai, and Vava'u, respectively. Mu'a, which is located on Tongatapu and is Tonga's third largest city, historically represents the seat of Tongan power. (It was also the site of Cook's landing in the eighteenth century.) Mu'a today, however, is economically and socially overshadowed by Nuku'alofa, which is 11 miles away, and therefore has retained the function and appearance of a large agricultural village. In other words, it exhibits few of the economic and political functions which characterize Nuku'alofa, Pangai, and Neiafu.

While there is no uniform definition of an urban area nor a standard of measurement, within the Pacific Islands, the Urbanization Advisory Committee of the South Pacific Commission has established several applicable characteristics:

1. a noticeably heavy concentration of population in comparison to the surrounding areas,
2. an occupational distribution differing from the surrounding area, with a larger proportion engaged in non-farming pursuits,

369

3. a form of local government different from that of rural areas, as being more suited to the provision of necessary urban services, made possible by greater population concentrations and financial potential (Urbanization . . ., 1962, p. v).

Nuku'alofa is Tonga's center of economic and social activity.

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162

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The urban area houses a rapidly expanding population in excess of 20,000, and has spread along the major transportation routes to the point where it has overtaken surrounding villages and formed a 1.5 mile arc, radiating from the waterfront. The population density is greatest along the peripheral edge of the city's central business district, and along the major transportation routes leading into the city. As the nation's capital, Nuku'alofa contains the majority of governmental divisions, including the royal family and all major ministerial departments. Although Pangai and Neiafu are also capitals, of Ha'apai and Vava'u respectively, they are greatly overshadowed by Nuku'alofa.

369

Pangai, the capital of Ha'apai, exhibits fewer of the urban

[162]

characteristics found within Nuku'alofa. Smallest of the four Tongan cities, Pangai evidenced a decreasing population during the intercensal period of 1956 to 1966. However, within the Ha'apai island group, Pangai remains the focal point of governmental, social and economic activity. The recent construction of the Ha'apai airfield, and the development of tourism, is expected to forestall further declines in Pangai's population.

[368]

Neiafu, capital of Vava'u, is second only to Nuku'alofa in terms of commerce and economic development. Neiafu not only serves as the administrative center of Vava'u, but is rapidly becoming the most important tourist center in the Kingdom.

162 percentage increase of 48.3 percent of the total "urban" population
161 and represented in excess of 46 percent of the Kingdom's popula-
166 tion. Nuku'alofa alone accounted for nearly 21 percent of the
162 national population total.

(361) It is important to note that 9 of the 13 settlements
(Table 6) are in the middle and eastern sections of the Tongatapu
district, the areas where economic and educational activities are
concentrated. These 9 villages represent nearly 60 percent of the
island's population, with Nuku'alofa, alone, accounting for 32.4
36d percent of the total (Fiefla 1968, p. 10). An example of extremely
166 rapid village growth is the case of Haveluloto (Havelu). This
rapid growth is the result of three factors:

1. The proximity of Havelu to Nuku'alofa attracts many people who could not find land within the capital.
2. The relocation of the Tonga Copra Board and the Tonga Construction Company, from Nuku'alofa to Havelu, was accompanied by a subsequent relocation of employees.
3. The construction of a new island hospital within Havelu has attracted many residents.

(366)
(368)
361 The major road between Havelu's hospital and Nuku'alofa is solidly
491 lined with dwellings.

162 The four remaining villages of over 1,000 population, not
found on Tongatapu, are divided evenly between Ha'apai and Vava'u.

162 Of these, Pangai declined in population during the intercensal
166 period, while the other three registered the lowest percentage
161 increases of the 13 settlements. This statistic indicates that
movement from rural to urban areas was not as influential within
A [See Category 162, p. 38--Analyst.]

369 By 1956, this figure had increased to 9,200, and by 1966, to nearly
162 16,000 not including surrounding areas. Today, Nuku'alofa,
161 including the adjoining settlements, contains between 25 and 30
369 thousand persons. This number represents approximately half of the
162 population of Tongatapu and a quarter of the nation's total
population.

369 Nuku'alofa is not unique in these respects as many of the
171 same features of growth are common throughout Polynesia. However,
[166] unlike other Pacific cities, Nuku'alofa is almost totally unprepared
to absorb the continuing flow of 600-1,000 new inhabitants per year.
369 The city lacks strong local government and laws, contains inadequate
[364] water and drainage facilities, refuse collection, and sewage systems,
[464] all necessary for coping with a sizable population. In addition,
there are few opportunities for steady urban employment and,
therefore, many persons are underemployed semi-subsistence agricul-
tural workers dependent upon the production of others.

369 In these respects, one could justifiably argue that
361 Nuku'alofa is not an urban settlement, in the true sense, but
merely an agglomeration of three agricultural villages (Kolomofo'ou,
[368] Ma'ufanga and Kolomotu'a). The merging of these three villages
into one urban area resulted from the establishment of the royal
seat of power and the Wesleyan church headquarters at this loca-
tion, plus the fact that Nuku'alofa was Tonga's first international
369 port. The urban center of Nuku'alofa remains highly agricultural
[368] in nature. The city has acquired few new facilities other than
[166] those usually associated with administration and trade. Three

APPENDIX A

GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF TONGA

131 The islands comprising the Kingdom of Tonga are scattered through 8°30' of latitude, from 15° South to 23°30' South, and 4° of longitude, from 173° West to 177° West. Directionally, the Kingdom is located East of Fiji and South of Samoa (Harris 1966, p. 124). The total area encompassed by the Kingdom is over 20,000

• [361] square miles. However, of this area only 288 square miles are land and this amount is scattered over 150 islets of which only 45 are

[162] inhabited (Kennedy 1968, p. 22). The largest and most populated island of the Kingdom is Tongatapu which accounts for 99 square

161 miles and holds a population in excess of 50,000. Estimates of Tonga's total population vary from 80,000 to 100,000. However, sources within the nation give the total as of January 1, 1975, as 95,000 (Report of the Ministry of Health 1973, p. 26).

133 The islands of Tonga lie in two fairly parallel lines and are actually the tops of two undersea mountain ridges. The basic orientation is Northeast to Southwest with several notable outliers in the Northwest of the Kingdom's territorial limits. These outliers include the islands of Niuaatoputapu and Niuafo'ou (Kennedy 1968, p. 22).

Physically, the geography of the islands is not uniform. There are three divisions of islands by geologic type (Figure 3).

The

131 majority of population, social, political and economic activity
 361 is found on Tongatapu centering on the capital, Nuku'alofa.

132 The distance over which the islands are spread allows some variety in climate. Temperature is, on the whole, equable. The absolute maximum seldom rises above 90°F or falls below 80°F. The temperature minimum seldom reaches above 70° or falls below 50°F. For most of the year the mean temperature is between 70° and 80°F. As is often the case in tropical locals, seasonality is measured in terms of wet and dry periods. Rainfall in Tonga occurs on the average of 170 days during the year in progressively heavier amounts northward (Table 27). The wet season spans the months from December to April. Dryer periods and occasionally droughts occur from May through November. Overall averages for rainfall vary from 67" in the South, to 117" in the North.

132 Coupled with the advantages of a warm temperature range and
 134 an adequately distributed rainfall, Tonga possesses a third basic agricultural necessity, rich soil.

132 TABLE 27.--Mean Annual Rainfall: 1932-1940.

Tongatapu	65 inches
Ha'apai	67 inches
Vava'u	75 inches
Niua Toputapu	95 inches
Niua Fofu	121 inches

SOURCE: Pacific Islands, Vol. III: Western Pacific (Tonga to Solomon Islands) (Washington: Naval Intelligence Division, 1944).

an Account of a Visit to the Island of Tongatabu.

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tacked to meet her. It was about 15 feet in length, without any carving or ornament, and having a single outrigger. There were four natives in it, all naked with the exception of a little tappa, or native cloth, wrapped round the waist, and reaching down to the knee. They came out against a heavy swell, often dashing right through the crests of the waves, which at times broke completely over them. They were talking to each other with great rapidity and animation as they approached, and, as we looked at them, not at all expecting to hear anything we should understand, one of them hailed us in perfectly good English, "Square the main yard!" As this had been already done some short time before to allow the canoe to come up with us, this speech was no doubt intended to show us how well he could speak English. A rope being thrown over, one of them scrambled up the side, the canoe pushing off again with the rest. The native who came on board was a fine man about six feet in height, with really handsome features, and a fine open expression that was quite prepossessing. He was tattooed upon the breast and across the back of one hand, and had lost one of his fingers. When he came on deck he announced himself as a pilot, asked whether we were English or French, and then pointed out the passage through the reefs to the anchorage, watching the ship, and saying "very good," as she came up to her course, and then, going forward, took up his station on the bowsprit. The entrance to the anchorage is between a mass of coral reefs and islets on the northern side of the island, and is very narrow, but our native pilot showed the greatest coolness and judgment in conducting us through it. Within the entrance the anchorage spreads out into a bay with deep water right up to the reef which skirts the shore.

Owing to the want of high ground there is nothing very striking in the appearance of the island, which from the sea forms a continuous line of palms rising over a beach of coral, the highest part being the small mount opposite the anchorage at Nu-ku-alofa, on which stands the native church and a small stone, marking the grave of Captain Croker, of H.M.S. "Favourite," who was killed at Bés, in the island, in 1840. Upon the beach were some very large sheds, and many pretty huts enclosed by neatly made fences.

When we had anchored, a whole fleet of small canoes, bringing crowds of natives, came off to the ship. In the afternoon a party was made up to go on shore. At the landing-place we were met by a large troop, principally children and young women, with two or three young men, one of whom carried a bayonet fixed upon the end of a pole. The women were dressed in short jackets of coloured cotton, with sleeves reaching down to the elbows, and petticoats of tappa fastened round the waist. As we were going away to look for the houses of the missionaries, a native came

A [i.e., a Tongan canoe--Analyst.]

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